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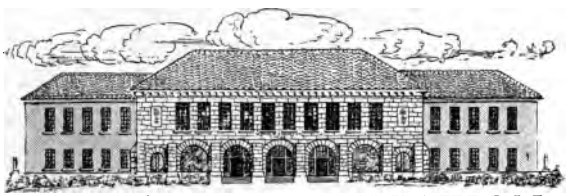

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M. TVLLI CICERONIS

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LIBER PRIMVS

ET

SOMNIVM SCIPIONIS

F. E. ROCKWOOD

COLLEGE SERIES OF LATIN AUTHORS

M. TVLLI CICERONIS

TVSCVLANARVM DISPVTATIONVM

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ET

SOMNIVM SCIPIONIS

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY

FRANK ERNEST ROCKWOOD

PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY

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PREFACE

CICERO's Tusculan Disputations have not been very generally read in American colleges. This edition of the first book has been prepared in the hope that it may awaken greater interest in the work and serve as a convenient introduction to the entire treatise. The editor hopes in the future to prepare some of the remaining books for publication.

Scipio's Dream forms an appropriate companion-piece to the first book of the Tusculan Disputations and has therefore been included in this volume. In the one Cicero shows that death is not an evil; in the other he reveals the character of the life after death. The standing of Scipio's Dream among the literary productions of pagan antiquity is too well known to need special mention here. Suffice it to say that in no other work has Cicero stated his belief in the immortality of the soul in such distinct and definite terms.

The text of both selections is based on that of C. F. W. Müller (in the Teubner series). In a few instances other readings have been preferred. Changes have also been made in the punctuation, and in some words a more approved spelling has been substituted. Departures from Müller's text in the first book of the Tusculan Disputations have been noted and explained in the Critical Appendix. The latter also contains a brief account of the best manuscripts and a list of the most important variants.

In the commentaries many references and parallel passages have been introduced to make the argument clear or

to illustrate peculiarities of language and style. A few references to the grammars of Allen and Greenough, Lane, and Madvig have been inserted.

The editions of Lemaire, Kühner, Seyffert, Heine, Tischer-Sorof, Hasper, and Schiche are the most serviceable editions of the Tusculan Disputations. From these and from many special works on the history and development of ancient philosophy I have received valuable aid. In the preparation of the commentary on Scipio's Dream the most assistance has been derived from the works of Macrobius, the notes of Moser and Creuzer, and the Lemaire, Anz, and Meissner editions.

My thanks are especially due to Professors Clement L. Smith and Tracy Peck, the editors-in-chief of this series, for their careful criticism of the manuscript and for their invaluable assistance in seeing the work through the press.

F. E. ROCKWOOD.

LEWISBURG, PA.,
March, 1903.

CONTENTS

THE TUSCULAN DISPUTATIONS I

PAGE

INTRODUCTION xi
Cicero as a Man of Letters xi
Cicero's Philosophical Training xiii
Cicero's Attitude toward the Four Great Schools . . xv
Cicero's Philosophical Works xviii
Cicero's Services to Philosophy xx
The Tusculan Disputations xxiii
Title xxiii
Date of Composition xxiv
Motives for Writing xxvi
Scene and Plan of the Discussion xxvii
Dedication to Brutus xxix
Sources xxix
Character of the Work xxxii
Analysis xxxviii
Summary xl
TEXT AND COMMENTARY 1
CRITICAL APPENDIX 93
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES 99
INDEX TO THE NOTES 103

SCIPIO'S DREAM

INTRODUCTION iii
The De Republica iii
The Somnium Scipionis vi
Scipio Africanus Minor ix
Analysis xi
Summary xii
TEXT AND COMMENTARY 1
INDEX TO THE NOTES 21

M. TVLLI CICERONIS

TVSCVLANARVM DISPVTATIONVM

LIBER PRIMVS

Ille se profecisse sciat cui Cicero valde placebit.

QUINT. X. 1. 112.

Non possum legere librum Ciceronis de Senectute, de Amicitia, de Officiis, de Tusculanis Quaestionibus, quin aliquotiens exosculer codicem ac venerer sanctum illud pectus adflatum caelesti numine.

ERASMUS.

Sans doute Cicéron mérite, n'eut-il composé que ses Tusculanes, de marcher à la tête des anciens qui ont le mieux servi la raison.

OLIVETUS.

INTRODUCTION

CICERO AS A MAN OF LETTERS

1. Cicero's most enduring fame rests upon his work as a man of letters. This fact he himself failed to realize. Blinded in part by personal ambition and carried away by his love of applause, he regarded his influence as a political leader and his success in overthrowing the conspiracy of Catiline as his strongest claims to the gratitude of his countrymen and the respect of later generations. But, contrary to his own belief, his enforced withdrawal from public life and his ultimate failure as a statesman gave him the opportunity he needed to accomplish his real task in life and establish his reputation on the sure and lasting foundation of his literary works. With him success in letters had always been a secondary matter. The Forum and the senate-house were his chosen arenas; and in this respect he cannot be accused of mere selfishness, for his patriotism was unquestioned, and his courage he proved in his final struggle with Antony. His mistake as a would-be leader of public opinion and factor in the government lay in his failure to comprehend the true character of the period of transition through which the state was then passing, from the old to the new order of things. Cicero, in his closing years, was not in harmony with the age in which he lived.

2. But bitter as was Cicero's disappointment over his fallen political fortunes, the world of letters has undoubtedly been the gainer thereby. His whole life, not altogether

intentionally or consciously on his part, had prepared him for the literary and philosophical works which he composed during his enforced retirement to private life, and which fill out and complete what would otherwise have been at best an imperfect and unsatisfactory career. Cicero's early training was intended primarily to fit him for the bar and the platform; but such was his conception of the orator's calling and his opinion of the possibilities open to the advocate and statesman, that nothing but the most liberal and thorough preparation for his profession could satisfy his ambition. Mastery of rhetorical principles and practice in composition and public speaking, he well knew, could not alone, however thorough, make the orator a man of broad views and commanding influence in the councils of the nation. The learning of the historian, the insight of the poet, the wisdom and logic of the philosopher, are needed by the orator if he is to realize his highest ideal and stir men to action in behalf of justice and humanity. Through nearly four decades after his first public appearance Cicero continued to enrich his mind with varied learning and to cultivate his talents as a master of effective speech. Law in all its branches, literary topics, and questions of national policy and public administration occupied his attention. As an orator he is second only to Demosthenes, whom he appropriately crowns as *oratorum princeps* (*Brut.* 141). Clear analysis, choice diction, and wealth of illustration from the rich storehouse of Greek and Roman history are the marked features of Cicero's literary style. His orations and letters constitute, practically, a political history of the period they cover; his rhetorical treatises present models of correct writing and trace in outline the development of Greek and Roman literature; his philosophical books reproduce in Latin many of the speculations and much of the best thought of the Greeks. If Cicero's

works had been less true to nature and less applicable to human life, they would have been forgotten long ago; but, in spite of occasional adverse criticism and new points of view, they have stood the test of many centuries and have given their author an honorable place among the makers of the world's literature.

CICERO'S PHILOSOPHICAL TRAINING

3. Phaedrus, the Epicurean, and Philo, the head of the New Academy, were lecturing at Rome while Cicero, at the age of nineteen, was acquiring his general education and laying the foundation for his future success in the legal profession. To these eminent teachers in their respective schools he was indebted for his first acquaintance with the problems of Greek philosophy. The interest thus awakened always remained active with him, varying in intensity and influence upon his work with the changing circumstances of his eventful career. In 79 B.C., two years after his first appearance as an advocate, Cicero visited Greece and Asia Minor for rest and study. The precarious condition of his health, the result of too close application to his profession, was the ostensible cause of his departure from Italy. That he had offended Sulla and found it expedient to retire for a time, was believed by many to be the real reason. At Athens he heard Phaedrus, Zeno the Epicurean, and Antiochus of Ascalon, sometimes called an eclectic Academic, as he combined with his own theories many of the doctrines of Plato and the Stoics. In the following year, at Rhodes, he attended the lectures of Posidonius the Stoic and again came under the instruction of the rhetorician Molo, whose able teaching, though directed more especially to the practical work of composition and oratory, helped Cicero to a better appreciation of the lectures of

the philosophers, and by contributing toward his general literary development ultimately aided him in the preparation of his rhetorical and philosophical treatises. From Diodotus the Stoic, who lived with him many years and died at his home, 59 B.C., Cicero received constant encouragement and assistance in his philosophical studies, and special training in logic, in which the Stoics excelled.

4. Cicero's early instruction in the elementary principles of Greek philosophy was supplemented later by a wide range of reading, embracing numerous authors and many works. Some books he translated directly, as the *Timaeus* of Plato. Others he made the basis of his own compositions, as, for example, Panaetius *On Duty* was the model for the *De Officiis*. His frequent allusions to Greek writers and his many quotations from them would seem to indicate at least a general familiarity with the authors and with the leading features of their works. How many of these he knew thoroughly and at first hand has often been the subject of discussion, but probably will never be answered in a manner entirely satisfactory. His own statements are not sufficiently clear and definite to settle the question, while the loss of many of the original works removes the surest test of his acquaintance with them. A careful study of his different treatises for the purpose of determining their sources shows that, in addition to a large number of the more popular and less distinguished writers on Greek philosophy, including many of the later representatives of the different schools, he borrowed, either directly or at second hand, from more than a score of the most eminent authors. Among these may be mentioned Plato, Aristotle, Speusippus, Theophrastus, Xenocrates, Crantor, Cleanthes, Chrysippus, Carneades, Panaetius, Hecaton, Posidonius, Philo, and Antiochus. That Cicero pursued his reading with something like a definite system

and covered a wide range of subjects seems to be clearly proved by the titles and general plan of his own works; for, while he did not attempt to found a new school, he tried to place before the Romans in an orderly and systematic way the leading principles and the great problems of Greek philosophy, and his own convictions in regard to them.

CICERO'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE FOUR GREAT SCHOOLS

5. The question naturally arises: What system of philosophy did Cicero adopt? what was his attitude toward the four great schools of his day, the Academic, Stoic, Peripatetic, and Epicurean? Although Phaedrus, the Epicurean, first awakened in his mind a lively interest in philosophical studies, he failed to make Cicero accept the teachings of that school. Epicureanism, in fact, Cicero wholly rejected. The doctrine that pleasure is the highest good, that the gods take no part in the affairs of men, and that death ends all, seemed to Cicero contrary to the teachings of nature. Such theories he believed too corrupting and enervating for a patriotic and ambitious Roman to look upon with the least degree of favor.

6. The Peripatetic school had lost much of its former influence and importance. The name of its illustrious founder, Aristotle, had not been sufficient through all the years to keep its vitality equal to that of its great rivals. Some of its doctrines Cicero accepted, and he spoke with approval and commendation of many of its tenets. For Cratippus, the head of the school in Athens, he had been instrumental in securing Roman citizenship and to him he had intrusted the philosophical training of his son Marcus. But, while Cicero revered the name of Aristotle and regarded

the ability and character of Cratippus so highly, it cannot be said that the Peripatetic doctrines occupied a very large place among the theories which he adopted.

7. With the teachings of the Stoics Cicero was thoroughly conversant, both from his extended reading and his long intercourse with the leading Stoics of his day. Their system of ethics he made the basis of his *De Officiis*, though not following his Greek authorities as a mere translator. The doctrine that virtue is the highest good he heartily accepted, but the extreme theory that all external conditions and circumstances are absolutely immaterial he could not admit. The Stoic view of the soul, as surviving the body for a time but ultimately perishing, he regarded as utterly inconsistent with any true theory of the nature of the soul, and more illogical than belief in its dissolution as taught by the followers of Epicurus. It must be remembered, however, that the Stoicism actually proclaimed in Rome in Cicero's day differed from the old type, against which many of the attacks of critics were really directed. Panaetius, the teacher of Posidonius (Cicero's preceptor), had introduced a milder and more attractive doctrine than that of Zeno, the founder, or of Chrysippus, the great expounder, of the philosophy of the Porch. The new Stoics no longer held that all men except the ideal *sapiens* were fools.

8. Cicero was naturally inclined towards the Academics. Their skepticism was especially attractive to him as a lawyer accustomed to weigh evidence and often realizing in practice the difficulty of proving the absolute truth or falsity of an assertion. His legal education and wide experience in public affairs kept him from narrow views of life and from extreme dogmatism in philosophy. Then again the Academy was founded by Plato, Cicero's ideal philosopher. It made no difference that the New Academy was

so changed from the Old that Plato would scarcely have recognized it as the offspring of his own school; the name was there and with Cicero it had great weight.

9. Cicero is properly classed as an eclectic. His acquaintance with the weak points, contradictory opinions, and widely divergent views to be found, not only in the different schools, but sometimes in the same sect, rendered strict adherence on his part to any one system impossible. While he adopted the views of the New Academy in speculative philosophy as expounded by Carneades, his skepticism was of the moderate kind and did not pertain to any point of vital importance. He believed in a Supreme Ruler who governs the universe and controls the destinies of men. Moral obligations, the duties of men to each other, to the state, and to their national religion, he explicitly recognized. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul he favored as grounded in natural and universal belief and supported by clear and logical arguments, which appeal to human reason with the force of a very high degree of probability, though falling short of actual demonstration. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle impressed him most deeply and to them he was ready to ascribe almost divine wisdom. His acceptance of the Stoic system of ethics and theory of duty was principally due to the teachings of Panaetius and Posidonius. While not an independent thinker, or an original investigator, he was nevertheless an earnest seeker after truth, animated by the philosophical spirit, and possessed of sufficient boldness of temper and judicial quality of mind to examine all theories, weigh the evidence, and adopt those which seemed most likely to be true. With a Roman's instinct for the practical and dislike of abstract discussion carried on merely for its own sake, Cicero was attracted to those systems of philosophy which dealt most directly and

authoritatively with man's duties. This fact turned him at once against Epicureanism and confirmed his interest in the Academy, the Porch, and the Lyceum; for these alone, from their theory of virtue, were entitled to enunciate principles of duty and formulate rules of conduct. While these three schools differed in particulars and contended about forms of expression, they were practically in accord on the one vital point that virtue is the highest good.

CICERO'S PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS

10. Cicero's philosophical works, excluding his rhetorical and political treatises, are as follows:

Paradoxa.
Hortensius (fragments).
Academicae Quaestiones, two series (partially preserved).
De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum, 5 books.
Tusculanae Disputationes, 5 books.
Timaeus ex Platone.
De Consolatione (fragments).
Cato Maior de Senectute.
Laelius de Amicitia.
De Gloria, 2 books (lost).
De Officiis, 3 books.
De Natura Deorum, 3 books.
De Divinatione, 2 books.
De Fato (fragment).

11. The *Paradoxa* is a brief work of minor importance containing six paradoxes of the Stoics. The *Hortensius*, designed as an introduction to all of Cicero's philosophical publications, was a defense of learning and a eulogy of philosophy as the only true and safe guide of life. The *Academicae Quaestiones* were published in two series or editions: the first in two books, the second in four. Of the

first edition the second book is preserved and gives the speculations of Antiochus and Philo of the New Academy. Of the second edition the principal fragment belongs to the first book and gives the history of Academic opinion from Plato to Arcesilas. This treatise is our chief source of information in regard to Academic doctrines. The *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum* gives the theories of the four leading schools on the highest good and the greatest evil. It deals with the fundamental questions of philosophy and is one of the most important and best written of Cicero's works. The *Timaeus* is a free translation of Plato's dialogue on the Nature of the Universe, in which is given an account of the mythical island Atlantis. The *De Consolatione* was called forth by the death of Cicero's daughter Tullia, to whom he was devotedly attached. The dialogues on Old Age and Friendship are masterpieces in their particular field of practical ethics, and are entitled to high rank in the world's best literature. The *De Officiis*, based upon the Περὶ τοῦ Καθήκοντος of Panaetius, has been pronounced the best practical treatise on human duties produced by any pagan writer. In the *De Natura Deorum* the Epicurean, Stoic, and Academic theories of the nature and characteristics of the gods are set forth in dialogue form. This work finds its natural continuation in the *De Divinatione*, which contains the opposing views of the Academics and Stoics on the science of divination. Finally, supplementing the *De Divinatione* and completing the list of religious or theological works, the *De Fato* gives from the Academic point of view a criticism of the Stoic doctrine of Fate.

CICERO'S SERVICES TO PHILOSOPHY

12. Cicero's self-imposed task of revealing to his countrymen the rich treasures of Greek philosophy involved many serious difficulties. The Romans were not metaphysically inclined. They did not take naturally to protracted discussions on abstract themes which involved much recondite learning and often led to no practical or satisfactory results. Cicero had, as it were, to make an audience for himself, to interest the people in his work, and to present the results of his studies in such attractive dress, with so much of rhetorical adornment and historical illustration, that the matter-of-fact Romans should be compelled to hear his message. Again, the Latin language had not reached its highest stage of development. It must be molded by a master hand to render it a suitable means of expression for the technical terms, the fine distinctions, and the close reasoning of the Greek philosophers. New words must be coined, correct definitions laid down, and unfamiliar ideas explained, and all so perfectly done that the Greek original should be accurately reproduced and the Latin form appeal to the Romans through its clearness of meaning and correctness of idiom. If not the virtual pioneer in the field of Greco-Roman philosophy, Cicero was certainly the first great worker in it. That he overcame the many obstacles in his way may be safely inferred from the permanence of the philosophical terminology he established, the broad scope of his works, and their great and lasting popularity.

13. To estimate properly the full extent of Cicero's service to philosophy is by no means an easy matter. The Greek language, with all its flexibility and polish, required a long time for the full development of a philosophical vocabulary. Such a vocabulary Cicero was practically

compelled to determine at once for Latin, in order to make the language a suitable vehicle for abstract thought. This very achievement many consider Cicero's noblest service to letters, in fact the really great work of his life; for by this he made both Roman and mediaeval philosophy possible, and through these affected in no slight degree the entire course of modern philosophical thought.

14. Before Cicero's time the Romans had but slight acquaintance with Greek speculative thought. Carneades, Critolaus, and Diogenes were sent by the Athenians as envoys to Rome in 155 B.C., but Cato, fearing that the new learning would undermine the courage and integrity of the Roman youth, prevailed upon the senate to order the immediate return of the philosophers. At a later date the Stoic Panaetius visited Rome and was cordially received and entertained by the famous Scipionic circle. The poet Lucretius in his *De Rerum Natura* expounded the philosophy of Epicurus. Amafinius, Rabirius, and Catius discussed the principles of the same school in works now lost, but received with some degree of favor in their day, though Cicero thought them unworthy of serious consideration. Through these philosophers and the Greek teachers of less note who flocked to Rome after Panaetius' time, philosophy gained a foothold in central Italy and secured a certain following among the educated classes; but it was Cicero, and he alone, who undertook to make known to the Romans in their own tongue the doctrines of the four great schools, to place, as it were, in their very hands almost the entire body of Greek philosophy. For this service to his countrymen he merited their sincerest gratitude, and not theirs only, but that of all subsequent ages; for his works have preserved and rendered accessible to us the choicest treasures of Greek thought, much of which would otherwise have remained unknown.

15. In developing the ethical side of philosophy, Cicero enunciated in the clearest terms the complete duty of man, and this he established on the sure basis of sound principles. Like nearly all investigators after the time of Socrates, Cicero refrained from the philosophical puzzles of the early Ionians, and made no attempt to solve the problem of the physical universe. Neither did he seek by merely negative arguments and destructive theories, after the manner of the Epicureans, to dispel fear of death and free the human mind from superstition. On the other hand, by holding up the doctrine of service and exalting the duty of patriotism, he disclosed in positive terms the true secret of a useful and happy life. Herein he rendered practical service to the state; for the full acceptance and actual realization of his doctrine would certainly produce conscientious officials and unselfish citizens. Both in ancient and modern times literary middlemen have performed a very important part in educating and uplifting the race. They have brought to the understanding of the people and impressed upon their minds and hearts great principles and truths which would otherwise have been the exclusive possession of the favored few. So Cicero, by reproducing Greek philosophy in such attractive form and infusing into it a lifelike reality, won the attention of an ever widening circle of readers and set before them ideals of manhood and duty of the highest type. As models of literary style, as a history of man's endeavor to find out his own destiny, in short as a record of human thought, Cicero's philosophical works made a deep impression in their own day and have ever since won and steadfastly held the respect and admiration of men.

THE TUSCULAN DISPUTATIONS

TITLE

16. The *Tusculanae Disputationes* were so named because the discussions were represented as taking place at the *Tusculanum*, Cicero's favorite villa for retirement and study. Of the commanding location of this country home and the magnificent view it afforded, Merivale thus speaks: "From the hill on which this villa stood the spectator surveyed a wide and various prospect, rich at once in natural beauty and historic associations. The plain at his feet was the battle-field of the Roman kings and of the infant commonwealth; it was strown with the marble sepulchers of patricians and consulars; across it stretched the long straight lines of the military ways which transported the ensigns of conquest to Parthia and Arabia. . . . Before him lay far outspread the mighty City, mistress of the world. . . . The statues of the gods exalted on pillars, or soaring above the peaks of its innumerable temples, seemed an army of immortals arrayed in defense of their eternal abodes." *Hist.* I. pp. 303, 304.

17. The Latin grammarians often call the work simply *Tusculanae*, and Tertullian (*Apol.* 50) refers to it in the same manner. Some manuscripts of inferior rank give the title as *Tusculanae Quaestiones*, and for a time it was thought by many that this was the correct wording; but the best manuscripts, and in fact Cicero himself, seem to prove beyond reasonable doubt that the correct title is *Tusculanae Disputationes;* cf. I. 8 *disputationes nostrae;* II. 2 *ex ea disputatione quae mihi nuper habita est in Tusculano;* IV. 7 *Itaque expositis tridui disputationibus quartus dies hoc libro concluditur;* V. 1 *Quintus hic dies, Brute, finem faciet Tusculanarum disputationum;* also *de Fato* 4 *Tusculanae*

disputationes; ad Att. XV. 2. 4 *prima disputatio Tusculana;* ibid. 4. 2 *ad Tusculanas disputationes.*

Date of Composition

18. In point of time the Tusculan Disputations followed the *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum* and preceded the *De Divinatione,* as is clearly indicated by Cicero in the enumeration of his works (*de Div.* II. 1). That it was later than the *De Finibus* is also shown by *Tusc.* V. 32, where the *auditor* says: *Quia legi tuum nuper quartum de Finibus.* This brings the time of composition within the limits of the latter half of 45 and the first part of 44 B.C.; for the *De Finibus* was completed in June, 45 B.C. In letters to Atticus, May 29 of this same year, Cicero intimates that he is already gathering material for the Tusculan Disputations; cf. *ad Att.* XIII. 31. 2; and 32. 2 *Dicaearchi* Περὶ Ψυχῆς *utrosque velim mittas et* Καταβάσεως; τριπολιτικὸν *non invenio et epistulam eius, quam ad Aristoxenum misit. Tres eos libros maxime nunc vellem; apti essent ad id quod cogito.* It is probable, however, that he did not devote himself exclusively to this task, but that its completion was somewhat hindered by other duties and plans, especially by studies preparatory to the *De Natura Deorum;* cf. *ad Att.* XIII. 39. 2 (July, 45 B.C.) *Romam, ut censes, veniam, sed invitus, valde enim in scribendo haereo;* and *Libros mihi, de quibus ad te antea scripsi, velim mittas, et maxime* Φαίδρου Περὶ Θεῶν. In a letter to Atticus, May 4, 44 B.C., Cicero wrote: *Librum meum illum* ἀνέκδοτον *nondum, ut volui, perpolivi* (*ad Att.* XIV. 17. 6); which has been interpreted by Heine and others as proving that the treatise was completed about this time. That it was familiar to Atticus soon after this is shown clearly by correspondence with the latter; cf. *ad Att.* XV. 2. 4 (May 18, 44 B.C.) *Quod prima disputatio*

Tusculana te confirmat, sane gaudeo; and ibid. 4. 2 (May 23) *Redeamus igitur, quoniam saepe usurpas, ad Tusculanas disputationes.*

19. In fixing, then, the time of composition of this work, the only point of uncertainty is the date of its completion. Some editors, prominent among them Schiche, deny the theory of Heine and claim that the work was finished early in the second half of the year 45 B.C. They do not believe that the word ἀνέκδοτον, in the letter referred to above (*ad Att.* XIV. 17. 6), has any reference to the Tusculan Disputations, and therefore think it has no bearing whatever upon the date of completion. The direct references to this treatise in the other letters of this month indicate, they maintain, a more thorough acquaintance with the work than Atticus could have possibly gained in any brief period of time. Again, the omission of any word concerning the death of Caesar, which Cicero hailed at the time as the liberation of the state, they consider sufficient proof that the books were written and published before the Ides of March, 44 B.C. To this latter argument Heine rejoins that it was more dangerous to refer in unfriendly terms to the Julian party after the Dictator's assassination than before; cf. *ad Att.* XIV. 17. 6 *minore periculo existimo contra illas nefarias partes vivo tyranno dici potuisse quam mortuo;* see also XV. 4. 3. The controversy, so far as any special importance is to be attached to it, narrows itself down to this question: Was the work published before or after Caesar's death? If after, it is certainly difficult to account satisfactorily for Cicero's silence upon an event of such far-reaching importance and of such personal interest to himself.

Motives for Writing

20. In the introduction to the Tusculan Disputations Cicero states his reasons for devoting the closing years of his life to philosophy. He has expressed similar thoughts in other passages, especially in the opening chapters of the second and third books of the *De Officiis*, in which he defended himself from criticism and justified his philosophical studies on practical and convincing grounds. So long as the Republic stood in its integrity and secured to citizens their constitutional rights, Cicero devoted himself without reserve to the interests of the state. But when civil war overwhelmed the nation, and Caesar by force of arms made himself the absolute head of the government, Cicero was compelled to spend his time in idleness or devote his energies to the pursuit of literature and philosophy. With loss of political prestige came domestic troubles, separation from Terentia, anxiety over the youthful folly of his son, and the severest blow of all, the untimely death of his beloved Tullia. Disappointment and grief drove him to philosophy, as a source of consolation and hope. With renewed application to these congenial studies his old interest revived, and he determined not merely to seek solace for himself in his hour of trial and adversity, but to develop a body of philosophical literature founded on the best works of the Greek sages. With this purpose in mind he taught his countrymen, in terms which they could understand, the noblest principles and sublimest truths of the great masters of Greek thought. The active mind and patriotic heart of Cicero impelled him to this course, that the name of Rome might be honored in philosophy and letters as it was in law and arms.

21. But, apart from the condition of the times and the personal experiences which forced Cicero to return to his

philosophical studies, he had certain special reasons for writing this particular treatise. In the *De Finibus* he had considered the theoretical side of ethics in an attempt to determine the ultimate grounds of good and evil and enunciate the broad ethical principles on which human conduct and duty must rest. Following this scientific study came naturally the practical application of the doctrines formulated to the motives and actions of men. The object of existence is a happy life, in the truest and best sense. To secure this, man must know how to rid himself of the fear of death and how to bear with courage and contentment of spirit the ills that assail both body and mind. The possibility and true philosophy of such a life are set forth in the Tusculan Disputations. Tullia's death was still fresh in mind, and the *Consolatio*, written to lessen Cicero's grief, had prepared him for a fuller and more thorough discussion of the nature of death and the effective way to rob it of its terrors. His abiding love for his daughter and his deep-seated grief over her loss strengthened his hope of immortality and inspired him to write, with deeper feeling and clearer vision, of the separation of body and spirit, of the life beyond the grave, and of the hope which he entertained of rejoining his loved ones and meeting the great and good of all the ages. The work was not written as a scientific treatise for the instruction of philosophers, but rather for the aid and comfort of thoughtful men who wish to learn the secret of living well and happily, and how to meet death without fear or despair.

Scene and Plan of the Discussion

22. Cicero laid the scene of the Disputations at his Tusculan villa, after the departure of Brutus to his province of Cisalpine Gaul, 46 B.C. The general plan of the

discussion is given in the text (I. 7 f.). Cicero with a company of friends devotes five days to the consideration of philosophical subjects, after the manner of the Greeks. To give reality to the conversation and animation to the argument, he adopts the dialogue form, — the plan followed, in fact, in most of his philosophical works. A member of the company proposes the topic for consideration and expresses his own opinion in regard to it, which Cicero then proceeds to refute. While conducting the discussion he sits or walks about, as it pleases him (I. 8). The morning of each day is taken up with rhetorical themes, the afternoon with philosophical (cf. II. 9). In most of his other works Cicero employed the Aristotelian form of dialogue, in which, after a few preliminary questions, one speaker discusses the subject with very little interruption or suggestion on the part of his hearers. The method here followed is called in the text the Socratic, but it is not the exact Socratic form illustrated in the dialogues of Plato. It is true that the preliminary conversation is more prolonged than in the *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia*, but the chief speaker soon passes from the rapid interchange of question and answer to the development of the special topic under consideration. In the *De Natura Deorum* the form differs again, as each of the three schools, Academic, Stoic, and Epicurean, has a separate speaker to defend its views.

23. The letters *A* and *M* are found in the text in place of personal names. *A* has been variously interpreted as *Atticus*, *Aulus*, *adolescens*, but is now taken for *auditor*, from the clause *qui audire vellet* (I. 8). *M*, at first supposed to stand for *Marcus*, is now explained as *magister*, to correspond with *auditor*. So far as can be determined by manuscript authority, the letters were not in the original text, but were inserted by a copyist. The discussion of each

day forms the subject-matter of a separate book. The titles of all of these and the general purpose of the whole treatise are thus given in *de Div.* II. 1 *Totidem subsecuti libri Tusculanarum Disputationum res ad beate vivendum maxime necessarias aperuerunt: primus enim est de contemnenda morte, secundus de tolerando dolore, de aegritudine lenienda tertius, quartus de reliquis animi perturbationibus; quintus eum locum complexus est qui totam philosophiam maxime illustrat; docet enim ad beate vivendum virtutem se ipsa esse contentam.*

Dedication to Brutus

24. The work is dedicated to M. Junius Brutus (85–42 B.C.), to whom Cicero also inscribed the *Orator*, *Paradoxa*, *De Finibus*, and *De Natura Deorum*, and in whose honor he gave the name *Brutus* to the dialogue *De Claris Oratoribus*. Brutus had been trained in philosophy by Cato, his maternal uncle. He adopted, for the most part, the doctrines of Antiochus, the eclectic Academic, and was himself the author of several philosophical treatises, especially works on Virtue, Duty, and Patience. Of his ability Cicero (*Acad.* I. 12) and Quintilian (X. 1. 123) speak in very high terms. Cicero respected the talents and character of his younger contemporary, but, owing to the peculiar disposition of the latter, the two never became very ardent and devoted friends.

Sources

25. Cicero, in conformity with his usual practice, based this treatise on Greek authorities. In all discussions of his philosophical works it should be remembered that his avowed purpose was to reproduce Greek philosophy in the Latin language, naturalizing it by the introduction of illustrations from Roman life and history and by the application of its teachings to the activities and conduct of his

fellow-citizens. The coloring and the spirit were to be Roman, the fundamental principles and the groundwork of the argument Greek. The question, then, in reference to any particular work is: What authority did Cicero follow and how did he use his material? In the Tusculan Disputations he refers to many writers, whose influence on his work can, to some extent, be recognized. But what particular book, if a single one, was his model, what philosopher he followed chiefly, or what sources, original or mere abridgments and compilations, he drew from, cannot easily be determined. A careful study of the question has been made by a number of scholars, but the conclusions reached are not the same. Only a general outline of Cicero's sources as indicated in the text, with some of the modern theories, can be given here.

26. In the first book Cicero apparently drew largely from the Stoics, notably Posidonius, from whom it is claimed came many passages in which Stoic and Academic doctrines are closely intermingled. The works of Plato, the Περὶ Πένθους of Crantor the Academic, and the Κορινθιακοὶ of Dicaearchus, a pupil of Aristotle, furnished additional material. On the nature of the soul the opinions of various philosophers are given (chs. 9–11). In the digression on forms of burial (ch. 45), Chrysippus is mentioned as an interesting and important authority. In the second book Cicero seems to have borrowed from the Peripatetics as well as the Stoics; but the literary features of this book and the rhetorical character of the discourse render any attempt to trace philosophical authorities exceedingly difficult. In the third book the name of Crantor again appears; but the principal authorities for this book, and for the fourth also, were the Stoics, especially Chrysippus (Περὶ Παθῶν), Panaetius, and Posidonius. In the fifth and concluding book of the treatise the Academy is represented by

Plato, Speusippus, Xenocrates, and Polemo, and the Lyceum by Aristotle and Theophrastus; while arguments based on the general doctrines of the Stoics are also introduced, and (in the last part of the book) certain theories of the Epicureans.

27. This outline of the sources of Cicero's material presupposes familiarity on his part with the works of many authors and ability to draw from these in the rapid course of his writing whatever he needed for the development of his theme and the support of his argument. But the theory that he used these authorities directly and in this way has been vigorously attacked by different scholars, especially by P. Corssen (Bonn, 1878), Poppelreuter (Bonn, 1883), and Hirzel (Leipzig, 1883). Corssen (*Diss.* and *Rhein. Mus.* XXXVI. 506 ff.) and Poppelreuter (*Diss.*) maintain that Cicero made a single work of Posidonius his model and drew from it his material. Hirzel (*Untersuch. zu Cicero's phil. Schr.*, Vol. III) combats this theory at considerable length and seeks to prove that Cicero followed Philo of Larissa, the Academic, one of his early teachers, introducing, however, in the course of the work arguments and illustrations gathered in his general reading. Other authorities have been suggested, but Posidonius and Philo have met with the most favor from critics inclined to discard the old views.

28. The real question to be decided is briefly this: Did Cicero make one author the basis of the Tusculan Disputations in the same way that he followed Panaetius in the *De Officiis*, or did he draw from whatever sources suited his purpose? There is no statement in the text sufficiently full and definite to render a settlement of the controversy possible by an appeal to Cicero himself. The works of Posidonius and Philo and many of the other Greek philosophers are very imperfectly known to us, and any theory

based upon these must fall short of actual demonstration. The question, while an exceedingly interesting one and in a sense important, can never be answered with any great degree of certainty. The new theories involve too much speculation and too many debatable points to be accepted without question; and the conclusions reached, by apparently careful scholars, are too far apart to give us absolute confidence in the trustworthiness of any of them. The labor devoted to this subject, however, has been in no sense lost. The investigation has led to clearer understanding of Cicero's method and to more exact knowledge of the principles and theories of the different schools.

Character of the Work

29. The Tusculan Disputations, compared with many of Cicero's works, cannot be considered as a scientific treatise, but merely a popular discussion of certain topics which were forced upon the author's mind by his own experiences and the general condition of the Roman state. The *De Finibus* and *De Officiis*, for example, the one theoretical, the other practical, were more systematic in form and more logical and complete in development. Cicero himself refers to the Tusculan Disputations as merely exercise for his advanced years, to take the place of his former favorite practice of declamation; *sic haec mihi nunc scnilis est declamatio* (I. 7). Following the *De Finibus* and written at a time of general gloom and depression on the part of Cicero and his friends, the work is, in fact, a courageous effort to prove by philosophy and the examples of eminent men that, in spite of all the doubts and uncertainties of human experience, a calm and contented life is possible.

30. In the apparent diversity of subject-matter in the different books there is, in reality, a certain degree of unity,

in that all parts of the work have a common goal in the exemplification of the happy life and the exposition of the principles which render the realization of this possible for all. In fulfillment of this purpose the author maintains that death is not an evil, that pain must be endured, that grief of mind is but temporary, that human sorrows and afflictions should be borne patiently and unflinchingly, and, as a fitting conclusion to the entire discussion, that virtue is in itself sufficient for the ideal life of the wise man. Such philosophy cannot fail to make all who accept and follow its teachings independent of external conditions and sudden changes of fortune. It will develop whatever native excellence there may be in human character. It is the philosophy of the practical man, who thinks more of duty than of theory. It harmonizes, in short, with Cicero's own high ideal of a life of patriotic service devoted to the immediate needs and future welfare of the commonwealth.

31. The opening chapters of the first book form a fitting introduction to the entire treatise. Then by a somewhat extended dialogue Cicero prepares the way for the special line of argument to be followed. With the statement of his theme he proceeds to the refutation of the popular belief that death is an evil. This opinion, he maintains, is false in respect to both the dead and the living, even though death be regarded as the annihilation of both soul and body. Death is not an evil, whatever the nature of the soul may be; but if man is immortal and the soul is destined to live forever, as Cicero, convinced by the arguments of Plato and the universal desire and belief of the race, confidently believes, then death is to be welcomed as a release from our earthly prison-house. In conclusion Cicero relates ancient legends of the judgments of the gods and the deeds of heroes, in confirmation of his thesis

that death is not an evil, but merely the harbor which all must enter at the close of life's voyage.

32. In the remaining books philosophy is commended as a source of comfort in affliction, a guide in doubt and perplexity. The second thesis for refutation is the doctrine that pain is the greatest evil. The view of the Cyrenaics and Epicureans, who so regard it, Cicero wholly rejects. The Stoic teaching that pain must not be considered as an evil at all, he stamps as unreasonable and utterly untenable, adopting for himself the middle ground of the Peripetics that pain, though an evil, is not the greatest of evils. In the concluding portion of the book he shows that pain can be endured by practice and habit, by reason and wisdom, by mastery of self and imitation of the brave spirits who have proved their ability to bear bodily pain and suffering with unflinching courage. Translations from Sophocles and Aeschylus and numerous quotations from the early Latin poets impart a rhetorical finish to this book and give it a special literary and linguistic value.

33. Grief of mind, *aegritudo animi*, and the means of its alleviation constitute the subject of the third book. That this form of mental disturbance belongs to the lot of a wise man is the thesis which Cicero undertakes to refute. After briefly showing the falsity of the proposition by arguments drawn for the most part from the Stoics, he enters into a full discussion of *aegritudo*. The views of the different schools in regard to mental suffering of this kind (*aegritudo animi*), which has its origin in the imagination, are stated and criticised. The disputation closes with a discussion of the different forms of consolation and a statement of the means which can be employed to free the mind from unnecessary anxiety and annoyance.

34. The fourth book is very closely related in general character to the third, as it treats of certain additional

disturbances (*perturbationes*) of the mind. The thesis for refutation is: *Non mihi videtur omni animi perturbatione posse sapiens vacare* (IV. 8). The discussion is divided into three main parts: the consideration of the four perturbations of the mind, *aegritudo*, *laetitia*, *metus*, and *libido*, and their different forms and subdivisions; the refutation of the thesis; and, finally, the remedies which philosophy has to offer for these diseases of the mind.

35. The fifth book, with the possible exception of the first, is the most interesting of all. It forms a fitting conclusion to the treatise and in a measure gathers up the teaching of the entire work in the one thought that virtue is in itself sufficient for a happy life. The thesis, in the stereotyped form of the other books, is: *Non mihi videtur ad beate vivendum satis posse virtutem* (V. 12). This Cicero meets with the argument that a happy life requires a calm and peaceful mind, that freedom from mental perturbation of every kind can come only from virtue, and therefore virtue alone can insure a happy life. He then attacks the theories of certain schools and shows that the Stoics alone are logical in their attitude toward this thesis, and by Stoic arguments establishes his claim that virtue alone brings happiness of the highest type. Cicero maintains that if the Epicureans, with their peculiar views of virtue and happiness, hold that the wise man is always happy, much more ought the adherents of the other schools to affirm and support this doctrine.

36. Many of the defects in the Tusculan Disputations are due to haste in writing. Cicero was not a philosopher in the highest sense of the term and did not attempt to develop a treatise complete in plan, perfect in arrangement, and new and original in matter and theory. The circumstances under which he wrote were not the most favorable for the repose of mind and calmness of deliberation so

essential for an author's best work on a serious philosophical theme. The dialogue, compared with that of Cicero's other works, lacks personal interest and dramatic force. The participants are designated by letters merely. In the *Cato Maior* one almost feels that Cato himself, a vigorous Roman of the old school, is actually speaking to his young companions. It is difficult at times to follow the course of thought of the Tusculan Disputations. The analysis is defective, or the discussion has not been worked out logically and systematically, point by point, from introduction to conclusion. Digressions and repetitions are frequent. For example, the hypothesis that death destroys the soul is employed twice in the first book, and in the second instance is made the basis of argument even after the immortality of the soul has been proved. The discussion does not always move forward with a firm, confident step. Anacoluthon, generally the result of hasty composition and vagueness of thought, is of frequent occurrence. The style and expression sometimes lack the refinement and dignity characteristic of Cicero's most finished work. The treatise is inferior to the *De Officiis* in erudition and logical perfection. At times the views advanced, even on vital points, seem lacking in clearness and force. In general, it may be said, the Tusculan Disputations show evidence of less painstaking elaboration and careful revision than some of Cicero's other works.

37. But while the treatise is open to criticism for certain faults and blemishes, it has at the same time many of the beauties and excellences that mark the style of the greatest master of Latin prose. It abounds in inspiring passages and apt illustrations taken from the whole range of Greek and Roman history. The variety of topics, the numerous references to individual philosophers and different schools of thought, combined with the practical bearing of the

disputations, make the work a convenient and attractive introduction to the study of ancient philosophy; and for this purpose it has been used by many scholars. Unity in general design, with breadth and comprehensiveness in division, and variety in subject-matter command the reader's attention and awaken a desire for a more extended acquaintance with Roman philosophy and its sources in Greek thought. The Tusculan Disputations have received merited praise from many, but from none, perhaps, more emphatic commendation than from Erasmus, the foremost scholar of his day: *Quid aliis accidat, nescio: me legentem sic afficere solet M. Tullius, praesertim ubi de bene vivendo disseruit, ut dubitare non possim quin illud pectus, unde ista prodierunt, aliqua divinitas occuparit. Atque hoc meum iudicium mihi magis blanditur, quoties animo reputo quam immensa sit quamque inaestimabilis aeterni numinis benignitas, quam quidam ex ingenio, opinor, suo nimis in angustum contrahere conantur. Vbi nunc agat anima Ciceronis, fortasse non est humani iudicii pronuntiare: me certe non admodum adversum habituri sint in ferendis calculis, qui sperant illum apud superos quietam vitam agere. Nulli dubium esse potest quin crediderit aliquod esse numen, quo nihil esse posset neque maius neque melius.* (*Ep. ad Ioannem Vlattenum, in Ciceronis Tusculanas Quaestiones.*)

ARGUMENT OF BOOK I

Analysis

I. *Introduction*

1. Cicero's reasons for illustrating the principles of Greek philosophy in Latin.
2. The subject of the book.

II. *Discussion*

Refutation of the thesis that Death is an Evil.

1. Death is not an evil to the dead or the living.
   - *a.* The dead do not suffer; the stories of terrible punishments in the lower world are mere fables.
   - *b.* If death is annihilation, then
     - (1) The dead are not unhappy, for they have no feeling.
     - (2) The living need not fear death, for it can bring no evil to them.
2. Death is not only not an evil, but is in reality a blessing.
   - *a.* To prove this we must consider:
     - (1) The nature of death.
     - (2) The nature of the soul.
   - *b.* Whatever theory in reference to these may be true, death is not an evil, for
     - (1) If the soul is material and perishes, there is no feeling after death.
     - (2) If the soul is immortal, it is destined to be happy, and therefore death is a blessing.

c. That the soul is immortal, and therefore death a blessing, is proved by
  (1) The authority of antiquity.
  (2) The universal belief of mankind.
  (3) The interest taken by the living in the welfare of future generations.
d. The dwelling-place and condition of the soul after death must be discussed in order to avoid popular errors on these points.
e. The immortality of the soul is still further proved by
  (1) The nature of the soul.
  (2) The powers of the soul, shown in
    α. Recollection of its former existence.
    β. Ability to improve present conditions.
    γ. Intellectual attainments.
  (3) The simplicity and unity of the soul.
f. Refutation of arguments advanced against the immortality of the soul.
  (1) The soul, though not seen, is known through its works.
  (2) The confidence of Socrates and Cato in a future life.
  (3) The inconsistency of the Stoics.
  (4) The weakness of Panaetius' theory.

3. Even if death destroys both soul and body, it is not an evil, for
a. There would then be no feeling after death.
b. The pain of death lasts but a brief time.
c. Death, while it takes us from the joys of life, takes us also from its sorrows and disappointments.
d. The unconscious dead cannot feel the loss of the blessings of life.
e. Death in infancy or youth is not an evil, as life has no fixed limit.

f. A life based on virtue gives one courage in the face of death, as shown in the case of Theramenes, Socrates, and the Spartans.

(Cicero here turns aside from the discussion proper to show that burial honors cannot in any way affect the dead.)

g. The best die with calmest mind.

III. *Epilogue*

1. The judgments of the gods.
2. The example of patriots.
3. Death the haven of rest which all must enter.

Summary

[The numbers refer to sections of the text.]

1–8. Cicero, addressing Brutus, gives his reasons for resuming his studies, and states his purpose to illustrate to the Romans in their own language the principles of Greek philosophy. In the practical affairs of life and in all the manly virtues the Romans have shown themselves superior to the Greeks. In literature, music, and art the Greeks have easily excelled; in oratory the attainments of the two nations have been very nearly equal. Philosophy, hitherto neglected by the Romans, offers Cicero a special opportunity to render important service to his countrymen. For five days, in company with friends at his Tusculan villa, he carried on a series of philosophical discussions. These are reproduced in dialogue form in five books.

9–14. Death seems to be an evil, both to the dead and to the living. This thesis Cicero seeks to refute; showing first that it is not true in the case of the dead, for the terrible punishments of the lower world have no existence

apart from the fables and poetic tales in which they are recounted. It is not true for the living, if, as some suppose, the soul perishes with the body; for if conscious existence ceases at death, there can be no feeling, and therefore need be no fear of suffering, after death.

15–22. Cicero seeks to prove not only that death is not to be looked upon by the living as an evil, but that it is in reality a blessing. Preliminary to this proof he gives the views of different philosophers on the nature of death and on the nature and origin of the soul.

23–25. Whatever one of the various theories concerning the nature of the soul and the character of the change which takes place at death may be true, death itself is either not an evil or is a positive good. If the soul is mortal, there can be no suffering after death; if it lives and returns to its original home, it must be happy.

26–35. The immortality of the soul is proved by the authority of antiquity, as illustrated in funeral rites and in the belief that many of the gods are simply deified mortals; by the innate feeling and universal belief that it must be true; and by the special interest that men take in the future condition of the race, — the wisest and best taking the deepest interest in the welfare of future generations.

36–49. The immortality of the soul rests upon the common belief of all nations. The place of habitation and the condition of the soul after death must be learned from philosophy. Errors on these points have given rise to foolish superstitions. The opinions of the oldest philosophers. Whatever the nature of the soul, whether of air, fire, or fiery vapor, it must, when separated from the body, rise immediately to the upper ether and the region of the stars, where it, and the stars themselves, are nourished and supported by the same substance. In this dwelling-place, congenial to its own nature, the soul, released from the

encumbrance of the body, is destined to enjoy a happy existence. Here it may satisfy its desire for knowledge and behold with the spiritual eye things which have never been revealed to mortal vision. Cicero believes the doctrines of Pythagoras and Plato to be true; but whether true or false, their teaching is more noble and inspiring than the idle theories of the Epicureans. Plato's authority is sufficient to convince Cicero.

50–55. Many believe the soul mortal, because they cannot comprehend its nature apart and separate from the body. But they do not understand it any better even while it is in the body. The soul is the man; the body is simply the soul's receptacle, its temporary home. The true meaning of the words "Know thyself." Plato's argument for the immortality of the soul, based upon the original activity of the soul.

56–66. The soul possesses certain divine characteristics. It means more than the life principle of plants or the instinct of animals. It is endowed with memory in its widest sense, which Plato interprets as the recollection of the soul's former existence. This is shown when children learn many things so quickly; for learning, Plato maintains, is simply recalling. The powers of the soul, the achievements of man in the amelioration of his physical condition, his attainments in science, in literature, and philosophy, all prove the divine origin of the soul. An argument from the *De Consolatione* to show that the soul is both divine and immortal.

67–76. Where is the soul and what is its character? We can see its works, though we cannot see the soul itself. When we behold the beauty and order of the universe, we cannot doubt that there is a Divine Ruler, whose character can be seen in his works. In like manner the nature of the soul is revealed, in part at least, to our understanding.

The soul is a unit, pure and simple. It cannot be divided and therefore cannot perish. Influenced by such reasons as these, Socrates, on the last day of his life, avowed his belief in the immortality of the soul. Cato departed from life as if glad that he had found just cause for suicide. The whole life of philosophers is a preparation for death. Death itself is but the entrance to an eternal life with the gods.

77–81. This doctrine some philosophers deny. The Stoics grant long life to the soul but not eternal life. They are inconsistent in that they admit the most difficult part of the doctrine, namely, that the soul survives the body, but claim that after long lapse of time it perishes. Panaetius held that the soul is born, suffers, and therefore must be mortal. This theory is based upon confusion of terms and is easily refuted.

82–86. Even if the soul dies with the body, death must not be considered an evil; for on this supposition the soul could not suffer after death, and the pain of dissolution, if felt at all, lasts only for a brief time. What really disturbs the mind is the fact that death is a departure from everything desirable in life. But it also withdraws us from the ills and misfortunes of life. If one dies in the hour of his greatest triumph, he escapes the possible calamities which the future might otherwise have in store for him.

87–92. The dead are not deprived of the blessing of life, in the true sense of the word; for man cannot be deprived of that of which he does not feel the need. Soldiers on many battlefields have met death without fear. If soul and body perish together, the dead suffer no more than the mythical beings which never had any real existence. Death does not deter the wise from consulting for the future welfare of their country. Even one who thinks the soul mortal may attempt immortal works. Sleep is the image of death. The story of Endymion.

93–101. It is absurd to think those unhappy who die before their time. Life has been given to man without any fixed limit. Nature may recall her gift at any moment. Long and short, as applied to life, are merely relative terms. Right living depends upon nobility of soul and calls for the exercise of every virtue. The example of Theramenes, Socrates, and the Spartans, in presence of death.

102–108. The form of burial and the observance of funeral rites are really immaterial and should occasion no anxiety, for they cannot in any way affect the dead. The words of Socrates, Diogenes, and others on this point. The burial customs of certain nations.

109–111. Death is met with calmest mind by those who have lived honorable and useful lives, whether their days have been many or few. Glory is the shadow of virtue. Inspired by the example of the brave and good, the wise will meet death unflinchingly. They will even welcome it in the hour of greatest success, lest they be subjected too long to the will of fortune. — Cicero's reasons for prolonging the discussion beyond the required limits.

112–119. Epilogue. The judgments of the immortal gods concerning death. In answer to prayers for the best gift to man within their power to bestow, they have sent death. Books in praise of death. Examples of men and women who have willingly sacrificed their lives for the benefit of their country. Whether the soul lives forever, or perishes with the body, there is no evil in death. What has been ordained by the gods, or by nature, the common parent of all, cannot be evil. Death a haven of refuge which all must enter at the close of life's voyage. — Subjects to be discussed on the following days.

M. TVLLI CICERONIS
TVSCVLANARVM DISPVTATIONVM
AD BRVTVM

LIBER PRIMVS

De Contemnenda Morte

Cum defensionum laboribus senatoriisque muneribus 1
aut omnino aut magna ex parte essem aliquando libera- 1
tus, rettuli me, Brute, te hortante maxime ad ea studia, quae retenta animo, remissa temporibus, longo intervallo intermissa revocavi, et cum omnium artium, quae ad

1. 1. **defensionum**: Cicero seldom engaged in the prosecution (*accusatio*) of citizens or officials charged with crime. The defense he considered more honorable and at the same time more difficult; cf. *de Off.* II. 49 *quorum (iudiciorum) ratio duplex est; nam ex accusatione et ex defensione constat; quarum etsi laudabilior est defensio, tamen etiam accusatio probata persaepe est;* Quint. V. 13. 2 *difficilius semper est creditum, quod Cicero saepe testatur, defendere quam accusare;* id. XII. 7. 1 *defendere quidem reos profecto quam facere vir bonus malet.* — **aut omnino . . . parte**: Cicero defended M. Marcellus and Q. Ligarius, 46 B.C., and King Deiotarus, 45 B.C. His last orations, the Philippics, were delivered after the publication of the Tusculan Disputations.—**aliquando**, *finally;* in this sense Cicero uses *aliquando* more frequently than *tandem.* — **Brute**: see Intr. 24. — **temporibus**: ablative of cause; for the meaning of the passage, cf. *de Off.* II. 4 *posteaquam honoribus inservire coepi meque totum rei publicae tradidi, tantum erat philosophiae loci quantum superfuerat amicorum et rei publicae temporibus; id autem omne consumebatur in legendo, scribendi otium non erat.* —**longo intervallo**: *i.e.* during the prolonged contest between the Julian and Pompeian parties. — **intermissa**, *broken off* for a time, while **remissa** is *relaxed, partially given up.* — **artium**, *sciences,*

rectam vivendi viam pertinerent, ratio et disciplina studio sapientiae, quae philosophia dicitur, contineretur, hoc mihi Latinis litteris inlustrandum putavi, non quia philosophia Graecis et litteris et doctoribus percipi non posset, sed meum semper iudicium fuit omnia nostros aut invenisse per se sapientius quam Graecos aut accepta ab illis fecisse meliora, quae quidem digna statuissent in quibus
2 elaborarent. Nam mores et instituta vitae resque domesticas ac familiaris nos profecto et melius tuemur et lautius, rem vero publicam nostri maiores certe melioribus temperaverunt et institutis et legibus. Quid loquar de re militari? in qua cum virtute nostri multum valuerunt, tum plus etiam disciplina. Iam illa quae natura, non litteris adsecuti sunt, neque cum Graecia neque ulla cum gente sunt conferenda. Quae enim tanta gravitas, quae tanta constantia, magnitudo animi, probitas, fides, quae tam excellens in omni genere virtus in ullis fuit ut sit

branches of knowledge. — **ratio et disciplina,** *principles and rules;* cf. *de Off.* III. 20 *Stoicorum rationi disciplinaeque.* — **quae** refers to **studio,** but takes its gender from **philosophia,** which is thus defined as *studium sapientiae;* cf. also *de Off.* II. 5 *nec quicquam aliud est philosophia . . . praeter studium sapientiae.* — **non quia . . . sed:** we should expect *sed quod,* but the second sentence is commonly made independent. — **sapientius . . . meliora:** for similar statements, cf. *de Or.* I. 15 and 197; *de Re Pub.* II. 30. This does more credit to Cicero's patriotism than to his judgment. — **quidem,** *at least;* often used in a relative clause of restriction.

2. **instituta vitae,** *rules of life.* — **domesticas ac familiaris:** Cicero is fond of using two words of the same general meaning to secure a well-rounded expression; cf. 50; and *de Off.* I. 13 *veri inquisitio atque investigatio;* also ibid. 54 *propagatio et suboles.* — **lautius,** *more elegantly.* — **certe,** *at least; i.e.* in the best days of the Republic. — **quid loquar:** implying by this formula that it is not necessary to enlarge on this topic (**de re militari**). — **iam,** *moreover;* continuing the discourse. — **natura, non litteris:** *i.e.* natural endowment as distinguished from study and training. — **cum Graecia . . . conferenda:** an example of *comparatio compendiaria.* The real comparison is, of course, not with Greece itself, but with the characteristics of the Greeks. — **gravitas . . . virtus: the**

cum maioribus nostris comparanda? Doctrina Graecia 3
nos et omni litterarum genere superabat; in quo erat facile vincere non repugnantes. Nam cum apud Graecos antiquissimum e doctis genus sit poetarum, siquidem Homerus fuit et Hesiodus ante Romam conditam, Archilochus regnante Romulo, serius poeticam nos accepimus. Annis fere DX post Romam conditam Livius fabulam dedit C. Claudio, Caeci filio, M. Tuditano consulibus anno ante natum Ennium [qui fuit maior natu quam Plautus et Naevius]. Sero igitur a nostris poetae vel 2
cogniti vel recepti. Quamquam est in Originibus solitos

virtues most highly prized by the Romans. — **cum maioribus . . . comparanda**: abbreviated comparison, as in **cum Graecia**, above.

3. **cum**, *while;* the clause is contrasted with **serius . . . accepimus**. — **doctis**, *literary men;* applied especially to poets and philosophers. — **Hesiodus**: Hesiod, of Ascra in Boeotia, is generally assigned to the ninth century B.C. The following works now pass under his name: *Works and Days*, *Theogony*, *The Shield of Heracles*. — **Archilochus**: a Greek lyric poet of Paros, noted as a writer of lampoons and said to have been the inventor of iambic verse. Horace imitated him in his Epodes. According to Nepos (cf. Gell. XVII. 21. 8) Archilochus flourished during the reign of Tullus Hostilius (traditional date, 673–641 B.C.). — **annis fere DX**: cf. *Brut.* 72, where Cicero gives this event more exactly as four years later (*i.e.* 514 A.U.C.). — **Livius fabulam dedit**: Livius Andronicus, born in the Greek city of Tarentum about 284 B.C., was taken to Rome as a captive. After securing his freedom, he became a teacher and translated the *Odyssey* into Latin verse for the use of his pupils. Roman literature dates from the year 240 B.C., when Livius produced on the Roman stage a tragedy and a comedy adapted from the Greek; cf. *de Sen.* 50; Hor. *Ep.* II. 1. 156 ff. *fabulam docere, to teach a play* (sc. *to the actors*), is more frequently used than *fabulam dare, to give the play* (sc. *to the people*). — **C. Claudio . . . consulibus**: C. Claudius Centho, M. Sempronius Tuditanus, consuls 240 B.C. — **Ennium**: Ennius (239–169 B.C.), often called the "father of Roman poetry," was the author of a historical poem, *Annales*, modeled after Homer. He also wrote comedies, tragedies, and satires. — **qui fuit . . . Naevius**: see Crit. App. Naevius brought out his first play 235 B.C. His death occurred about 199 B.C. Plautus was born about 254 B.C. and died 184 B.C.

2. vel recepti: the oldest Roman poets were not Roman citizens by birth. Livius was a

esse in epulis canere convivas ad tibicinem de clarorum hominum virtutibus, honorem tamen huic generi non fuisse declarat oratio Catonis, in qua obiecit ut probrum M. Nobiliori, quod is in provinciam poetas duxisset; duxerat autem consul ille in Aetoliam, ut scimus, Ennium. Quo minus igitur honoris erat poetis, eo minora studia fuerunt, nec tamen, si qui magnis ingeniis in eo genere exstiterunt, non satis Graecorum gloriae responderunt.

4 An censemus, si Fabio, nobilissimo homini, laudi datum

Greek from Tarentum; Naevius was born in Campania; Ennius in Calabria; and Plautus in Umbria. — **quamquam est**, *and yet it is stated.* **quamquam** here introduces a concessive clause which corrects the preceding sentence and also stands in opposition to the clause **honorem tamen . . . Catonis.** — **in Originibus**: M. Porcius Cato the Censor (234–149 B.C.) wrote a historical work in seven books entitled *Origines*. The first contained the story of the Roman kings; the second and third the history of the Italian states; the fourth and fifth an account of the First and Second Punic Wars; the sixth and seventh brought the history down to the year of Cato's death, 149 B.C. — **in epulis canere**: cf. IV. 3 *in Originibus dixit Cato morem apud maiores hunc epularum fuisse, ut deinceps qui accubarent canerent ad tibiam clarorum virorum laudes atque virtutes; Brut.* 75 *utinam exstarent illa carmina, quae multis saeculis ante suam aetatem in epulis esse cantitata a singulis convivis de clarorum virorum laudibus in Originibus scriptum reliquit Cato;* Varro *ap.* Nonius 76 *in conviviis pueri modesti ut cantarent carmina antiqua in quibus laudes erant maiorum et assa voce et cum tibicine;* Hor. *Carm.* IV. 15. 25–32; Quint. I. 10. 20 *sed veterum quoque Romanorum epulis fides ac tibias adhibere moris fuit;* Val. Max. II. 1. 10 *maiores natu in conviviis ad tibias egregia superiorum opera carmine comprehensa pangebant, quo ad ea imitanda iuventutem alacriorem redderent;* also Teuffel, *Rom. Lit.* 8?; Macaulay's Pref. to *Lays of Ancient Rome.* — **ad tibicinem**: equivalent to *ad cantum tibicinis;* cf. IV. 3 *canerent ad tibiam.* — **huic generi**: *i.e.* to poets. — **declarat . . . Catonis**: cf. Gell. XI. 2. 5 (quotation from Cato) *poeticae artis honos non erat.* — **M. Nobiliori . . . duxisset**: M. Fulvius Nobilior, consul 189 B.C. and conqueror of the Aetolians; cf. *Arch.* 27 *iam vero ille, qui cum Aetolis Ennio comite bellavit, Fulvius, non dubitavit Martis manubias Musis consecrare;* also *Brut.* 79. **poetas** in the plural emphasizes Cato's contempt for Nobilior's act. — **autem**, *now*, a particle of explanation, of frequent occurrence in philosophical discourse. — **in eo genere**: cf. **huic generi**, above. — **satis . . . responderunt**, *were fully equal to.*

4. **Fabio**: C. Fabius, grandfather of Fabius the historian,

esset quod pingeret, non multos etiam apud nos futuros Polyclitos et Parrhasios fuisse? Honos alit artes, omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloria, iacentque ea semper quae apud quosque improbantur. Summam eruditionem Graeci sitam censebant in nervorum vocumque cantibus; igitur et Epaminondas, princeps meo iudicio Graeciae, fidibus praeclare cecinisse dicitur, Themistoclesque aliquot ante annos cum in epulis recusaret lyram, est habitus indoctior. Ergo in Graecia musici floruerunt, discebantque id omnes, nec, qui nesciebat, satis excultus doctrina putabatur. In summo apud illos honore geometria fuit; 5 itaque nihil mathematicis inlustrius; at nos metiendi ratiocinandique utilitate huius artis terminavimus modum.

painted the temple of Salus, 303 B.C., and on this account received the surname Pictor, which afterwards became the family name; cf. Plin. *H. N.* XXXV. 19. — **Polyclitos**: see Crit. App. Polyclitus of Argos was a celebrated sculptor in the age of Pericles. — **Parrhasios**: Parrhasius, a noted painter of Ephesus, flourished in Athens about 400 B.C. — **honos alit artes**: a proverbial saying; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 102. 17 *antiquus poeta ait: Laus alit artes;* Prop. IV. 10. 3 *sed dat mihi gloria vires;* Ov. *Ep. ex Pont.* IV. 2. 35, 36 *laudataque virtus Crescit et immensum gloria calcar habet;* also Plato *Rep.* VIII. p. 551 a. — **iacent**: here in the sense of *negleguntur.* — **eruditionem**, *training.* — **nervorum**, *stringed instruments.* — **igitur**: usually postpositive in Cicero; cf. Quint. I. 5. 39; and Woelfflin, *Archiv* III. 560. — **et Epaminondas . . . Themistoclesque**: *et* and *que* are seldom combined by Cicero in this way. *et . . . et* is the regular form when the second member is strictly coördinate with the first. Epaminondas was the leading general and statesman of Thebes from 379 B.C. until his defeat and death at the battle of Mantinea, 362 B.C. For his training in music, cf. Nep. *Epam.* 2. — **cecinisse**, *to have played.* Themistocles, the celebrated Athenian statesman and general, founded the naval power of Athens. He was ostracized 471 B.C., and died in exile 449 B.C. — **aliquot ante annos**: in reality about a century. — **recusaret**: contemporaneous with **est habitus indoctior** and therefore not in the pluperfect. — **id**: *i.e.* music; its meaning is to be obtained from **musici floruerunt.**

5. **nihil . . . inlustrius**: *nihil* is often used with emphasis for *nemo*, especially with the comparative; in a similar way *quid* is used for *quis* in interrogative clauses; cf. III. 27 *Tarquinio . . . quid impudentius?* — **ratiocinandi**, *reckoning.*

3 At contra oratorem celeriter complexi sumus, nec eum primo eruditum, aptum tamen ad dicendum, post autem eruditum. Nam Galbam, Africanum, Laelium doctos fuisse traditum est, studiosum autem eum, qui iis aetate anteibat, Catonem, post vero Lepidum, Carbonem, Gracchos, inde ita magnos nostram ad aetatem, ut non multum aut nihil omnino Graecis cederetur. Philosophia iacuit usque ad hanc aetatem nec ullum habuit lumen litterarum Latinarum; quae inlustranda et excitanda nobis est, ut, si occupati profuimus aliquid civibus nostris, 6 prosimus etiam, si possumus, otiosi. In quo eo magis nobis est elaborandum, quod multi iam esse libri Latini

3. oratorem: used instead of the abstract *eloquentiam*. — **nec . . . eruditum**: without theoretical training. — **aptum . . . dicendum**: cf. Cato's definition of an orator (Quint. XII. 1. 1) *vir bonus dicendi peritus*. — **Galbam, Africanum, Laelium**: cf. *Brut.* 82 *C. Laelius et P. Africanus in primis eloquentes . . . Sed inter hos aetate paulum eis antecedens sine controversia Ser. Galba eloquentia praestitit.* Ser. Sulpicius Galba was consul 144 B.C. For the character and friendship of Scipio Africanus Minor and C. Laelius Sapiens, cf. *de Am.*, in which Laelius is represented as the principal speaker. — **doctos**: used in the same sense as **eruditum**, above. — **studiosum . . . Catonem**: see *in Originibus*, 3 n; with **studiosum** sc. *doctrinae;* the expression is weaker than *eruditus* or *doctus*. Cato was not called *doctus*, because he lacked Greek culture. For the order **eum . . . Catonem**, cf. *ea quae . . . physica*, 29. — **Lepidum**: M. Aemilius Lepidus, consul 137 B.C.; cf. *Brut.* 95 *M. Aemilius Lepidus . . . eisdem temporibus fere quibus Galba, sed paulo minor natu, et summus orator est habitus et fuit . . . scriptor sane bonus.* — **Carbonem, Gracchos**: C. Papirius Carbo, consul 120 B.C., and Ti. Gracchus were pupils of Lepidus; cf. *Brut.* 96 and 103–105. Of C. Gracchus Cicero says (*Brut.* 126) *eloquentia quidem nescio an habuisset parem neminem.* — **ita magnos**: from the time of the Gracchi to the time of Cicero the leading orators were M. Antonius, consul 99 B.C.; L. Crassus, consul 95 B.C.; C. Cotta; P. Sulpicius; and Q. Hortensius. Instead of **magnos** etc., dependent upon **traditum est**, we should expect *inde ita magni oratores . . . exstiterunt.* — **aut nihil**: aut is corrective, *or rather.* — **iacuit**: see *iacent*, 4 n. — **inlustranda et excitanda**: the former refers to **nec . . . habuit lumen**, the latter to **iacuit**; chiastic arrangement. — **occupati . . . otiosi**, *in public life . . . in retirement.*

6. **in quo**: *i.e.* in this task. — **multi . . . dicuntur**: Cicero knows the books only by hearsay, not

dicuntur scripti inconsiderate ab optimis illis quidem viris, sed non satis eruditis. Fieri autem potest ut recte quis sentiat et id, quod sentit, polite eloqui non possit; sed mandare quemquam litteris cogitationes suas, qui eas nec disponere nec inlustrare possit nec delectatione aliqua adlicere lectorem, hominis est intemperanter abutentis et otio et litteris. Itaque suos libros ipsi legunt cum suis, nec quisquam attingit praeter eos qui eandem licentiam scribendi sibi permitti volunt. Quare si aliquid oratoriae laudis nostra attulimus industria, multo studiosius philosophiae fontis aperiemus, e quibus etiam illa manabant.

Sed ut Aristoteles, vir summo ingenio, scientia, copia, 4 7
cum motus esset Isocratis rhetoris gloria, dicere docere etiam coepit adulescentes et prudentiam cum eloquentia iungere, sic nobis placet nec pristinum dicendi studium

considering them worthy of careful study. — **ab optimis . . . eruditis**, *by men good enough, but untrained.* *quidem*, when used concessively, is often preceded by *ille*, as here. The pronoun may be omitted in translating. Cicero has in mind C. Amafinius, Rabirius, and C. Catius, who gained some popularity as expounders of the Epicurean philosophy. — **et**: equivalent to *et tamen*. — **mandare . . . litteris**, *for one to commit to writing, to publish*. — **delectatione aliqua**: referring to literary excellence. — **cum suis**: *i.e.* with those of like mind. — **si aliquid . . . attulimus**: sc. *populo Romano*. — **illa**: refers to **aliquid oratoriae laudis**, but is put in the plural to indicate the extent of Cicero's success as an orator. For the influence of philosophical studies upon his oratory, cf. *N. D.* I. 6.

4. 7. Aristoteles: Aristotle of Stagira (384–322 B.C.), for a time the pupil and companion of Plato, and later the teacher of Alexander the Great, founded the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens, 335 B.C.; cf. *de Or.* I. 43; III. 141; *de Fin.* V. 7; Quint. III. 1. 14; X. 1. 83. — **ingenio, scientia, copia**, *natural talent* (*in* and *gigno*), *learning* (*scio*), *eloquence* (*copia dicendi*). — **Isocratis**: Isocrates of Athens (436–338 B.C.), "that old man eloquent," was a famous teacher of rhetoric and oratory. — **dicere . . . iungere**: dependent upon **docere**. — **docere** depends upon **coepit**; see Crit. App. — **prudentiam**: here equivalent to *philosophiam*; cf. *de Div.* II. 4 *cumque Aristoteles itemque Theophrastus, excellentes viri cum subtilitate tum copia, cum philosophia dicendi etiam praecepta con-*

deponere et in hac maiore et uberiore arte versari. Hanc enim perfectam philosophiam semper iudicavi, quae de maximis quaestionibus copiose posset ornateque dicere, in quam exercitationem ita nos studiose dedimus ut iam etiam scholas Graecorum more habere auderemus; ut nuper tuum post discessum in Tusculano, cum essent complures mecum familiares, temptavi quid in eo genere possem. Vt enim antea declamitabam causas, quod nemo me diutius fecit, sic haec mihi nunc senilis est declamatio. Ponere iubebam de quo quis audire vellet;
8 ad id aut sedens aut ambulans disputabam. Itaque dierum quinque scholas, ut Graeci appellant, in totidem libros contuli. Fiebat autem ita ut, cum is, qui audire vellet, dixisset quid sibi videretur, tum ego contra dicerem. Haec est enim, ut scis, vetus et Socratica ratio

iunxerint. — **nec . . . et**, *both not . . . and*, a common Latinism; cf. *de Sen.* 51; *de Or.* I. 179; *ad Fam.* X. 1. 4. — **arte**, *branch of learning.* — **perfectam**: used predicatively with **iudicavi.** — **quae . . . posset . . . dicere**: **philosophiam** implies *philosophus*, which we should expect logically as the subject of **posset dicere.** This usage is not uncommon. — **dedimus**: see Crit. App. — **scholas . . . habere**, *to hold disputations* or *learned conversations*, but not in the sense of debates or in defense of opposite opinions. — **tuum post discessum**: Caesar made Brutus governor of Gallia Cisalpina, 47 B.C.; cf. *ad Fam.* VI. 6. 10. — **in Tusculano**: Cicero had a villa called *Tusculanum* at Tusculum, an ancient Latin town, about ten miles southeast of Rome, near the modern hill town of Frascati; see Intr. 16. — **in eo genere**, *in this way.* — **declamitabam causas**: for practice; cf. *Brut.* 310 *commentabar declamitans . . . saepe cum M. Pisone et cum Q. Pompeio aut cum aliquo cotidie; idque faciebam multum etiam Latine, sed Graece saepius.* — **senilis . . . declamatio**: forming with **est** the predicate of **haec.** Philosophical discussion constitutes the rhetorical exercise (**declamatio**) of his old age. — **ponere**, *to propose a subject*; cf. Greek τιθέναι, θέσις, English *thesis*; also *de Am.* 17 *doctorum est ista consuetudo . . . ut iis ponatur de quo disputent quamvis subito.* — **ad id**, *in reference to this*; cf. III. 18 *ad ea disputat*; *de Fato* 4 *ponere aliquid ad quod audiam . . . volo.*

8. **scholas**: see 7 n. — **fiebat . . . ita**: referring to the plan of carrying on the discussions. — **enim**: note its position; see *Som. Scip.*, 5 n. — **Socratica ratio**:

contra alterius opinionem disserendi. Nam ita facillime quid veri simillimum esset inveniri posse Socrates arbitrabatur. Sed quo commodius disputationes nostrae explicentur, sic eas exponam, quasi agatur res, non quasi narretur. Ergo ita nascetur exordium:

A. Malum mihi videtur esse mors.

M. Iisne qui mortui sunt, an iis quibus moriendum est?

A. Vtrisque.

M. Est miserum igitur, quoniam malum.

A. Certe.

M. Ergo et ii, quibus evenit iam ut morerentur, et ii, quibus eventurum est, miseri.

A. Mihi ita videtur.

M. Nemo ergo non miser.

A. Prorsus nemo.

M. Et quidem, si tibi constare vis, omnes, quicumque nati sunt eruntve, non solum miseri, sed etiam semper miseri. Nam si solos eos diceres miseros quibus moriendum esset, neminem tu quidem eorum qui viverent exciperes (moriendum est enim omnibus), esset tamen

this is more properly the Academic method. For the real Socratic method, cf. *de Fin.* II. 2 *is* (*Socrates*) *enim percontando atque interrogando elicere solebat eorum opiniones quibuscum disserebat, ut ad ea quae ii respondissent, si quid videretur, diceret.* — **quasi agatur res**: *i.e.* as if the conversation were carried on in your presence.

5. 9. A . . . M: *i.e. Auditor . . . Magister.* See Intr. 23. — **malum . . . esse mors**: the thesis proposed for discussion; cf. *ponere . . . disputabam*, 7. — **utrisque**: both the dead and the living. — **miserum igitur**: **miserum** is used substantively. — **certe**: often used alone as the positive answer to a question. — **ergo . . . miseri**: sc. *sunt.* — **nemo . . . non**, *every one;* sc. *est;* note the difference between *nemo non* and *non nemo.* — **prorsus**, *certainly, truly.* — **tibi constare**, *consistent with yourself.* — **miseri . . . semper miseri**: sc. *sunt . . . erunt.* — **moriendum esset . . . viverent**: these verbs

miseriae finis in morte. Quoniam autem etiam mortui miseri sunt, in miseriam nascimur sempiternam. Necesse est enim miseros esse eos, qui centum milibus annorum ante occiderunt, vel potius omnis, quicumque nati sunt.

A. Ita prorsus existimo.

M. Dic, quaeso: num te illa terrent, triceps apud inferos Cerberus, Cocyti fremitus, travectio Acherontis,

Mentó summam amnem attíngens enectús siti

Tantalus? tum illud, quod

Sisyphus versat
Saxum sudans nitendo neque proficit hilum?

fortasse etiam inexorabiles iudices, Minos et Rhadamanthus? apud quos nec te L. Crassus defendet nec M. Antonius nec, quoniam apud Graecos iudices res agetur, poteris adhibere Demosthenen; tibi ipsi pro te

take their mood and tense from **diceres** and **exciperes**. — **in miseriam**: in expresses result. — **qui . . . occiderunt**: this seems to indicate a belief in the very great antiquity of man. — **omnis**: sc. *miseros esse*.

10. **prorsus**: as in 9. — **illa**: *ille* is often used to point out a celebrity; so here it refers to the oft-mentioned Cerberus, etc. — **triceps**, etc.: the watchdog of Hades; also called *centiceps*; cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 417 *latratu trifauci*; Hor. *Carm.* II. 13. 34 *belua centiceps*; Hesiod *Theog.* 312 κύνα πεντηκοντακάρηνον. — **Cocyti . . . Acherontis**: rivers of Epirus, supposed to be connected with the lower world and so often spoken of as the rivers of Hades. — **mento . . . siti**: an iambic trimeter; the author is not known; for **amnem**, see Crit. App. — **Tantalus**: son of Jupiter, and father of Pelops; punished for betraying the secrets of the gods. — **Sisyphus**: king of Corinth, famous for his cunning; slain by Theseus and condemned to eternal punishment; cf. Hor. *Carm.* II. 14. 20; Hom. *Od.* XI. 593-600. The quotation, in dactylic hexameters, is probably from Lucilius. Final **s** of **Sisyphus** does not make position. — **Minos et Rhadamanthus**: Minos, king of Crete, and Rhadamanthus his brother were noted in life for justice. For this reason, according to fable, they, with Aeacus, were made judges in the lower world. — **L. Crassus . . . M. Antonius**: see *ita magnos*, 5 n. Crassus and Antonius were the leading speakers in the *de Oratore*. — **tibi . . . te**: note the grouping of pronouns. —

erit maxima corona causa dicenda. Haec fortasse metuis et idcirco mortem censes esse sempiternum malum.

A. Adeone me delirare censes ut ista esse credam? 6

M. An tu haec non credis?

A. Minime vero.

M. Male hercule narras.

A. Cur? quaeso.

M. Quia disertus esse possem, si contra ista dicerem.

A. Quis enim non in eius modi causa? aut quid negotii 11 est haec poetarum et pictorum portenta convincere?

M. Atqui pleni libri sunt contra ista ipsa disserentium philosophorum.

A. Inepte sane. Quis enim est tam excors quem ista moveant?

M. Si ergo apud inferos miseri non sunt, ne sunt quidem apud inferos ulli.

A. Ita prorsus existimo.

maxima corona, *a great crowd of spectators*, referring to the shades; cf. *N. D.* II. 1 *corona tibi et iudices defuerunt;* Hor. *Ep.* I. 18. 53 *clamore coronae;* and *A. P.* 381 *spissae coronae.*

6. ista: the so-called demonstrative of the second person. Note the change to **haec** in the next question. — **an** asks the question with surprise; see A. & G. 211 b; cf. *an tu . . . putas illos,* 13. — **minime vero**: emphatic, *no, not in the least.* — **male . . . narras**: *male narrare, to tell bad news,* is colloquial; *bene narrare* is used in the same way; cf. *ad Att.* XVI. 14. 3 *male narras de Nepotis filio;* Ter. *Eun.* 916 *probe edepol narras.* — **disertus**: for the distinction between *disertus* and *eloquens*, cf. *de Or.* I. 94 *eum statuebam disertum, qui posset satis acute atque dilucide apud mediocris homines ex communi quadam opinione hominum dicere, eloquentem vero, qui mirabilius et magnificentius augere posset atque ornare quae vellet omnisque omnium rerum, quae ad dicendum pertinerent, fontis animo ac memoria contineret.*

11. quis enim: **enim** implies an ellipsis; *credo, of course,* may be supplied. — **haec . . . portenta convincere,** *to refute these marvelous stories.* — **pleni**: used absolutely. — **philosophorum**: by its position contrasted with **poetarum et pictorum.** — **ne sunt quidem . . . ulli,** *there is also no one in the lower world; i.e.* there is no lower world; **ne quidem** in this passage has the force of *also not,* instead

M. Vbi sunt ergo ii quos miseros dicis, aut quem locum incolunt? Si enim sunt, nusquam esse non possunt.

A. Ego vero nusquam esse illos puto.

M. Igitur ne esse quidem?

A. Prorsus isto modo, et tamen miseros ob id ipsum quidem, quia nulli sint.

12 *M.* Iam mallem Cerberum metueres quam ista tam inconsiderate diceres.

A. Quid tandem?

M. Quem esse negas, eundem esse dicis. Vbi est acumen tuum? Cum enim miserum esse dicis, tum eum, qui non sit, dicis esse.

A. Non sum ita hebes ut istud dicam.

M. Quid dicis igitur?

A. Miserum esse verbi causa M. Crassum, qui illas fortunas morte dimiserit, miserum Cn. Pompeium, qui tanta gloria sit orbatus, omnis denique miseros, qui hac luce careant.

M. Revolveris eodem. Sint enim oportet, si miseri sunt; tu autem modo negabas eos esse, qui mortui essent. Si igitur non sunt, nihil possunt esse; ita ne miseri quidem sunt.

of its usual meaning *not even*. — **igitur**: see 4 n. — **esse**, *to exist;* frequently used in this sense. — **quia nulli sint**: *nullus* for *non* is common in conversational style; cf. *ad Att.* XI. 24. 4; Ter. *Andr.* 370.

12. Cerberum metueres: *i.e.* believed the fanciful stories of the poets (*poetarum . . . portenta*, 11); see A. & G. 331 b. 2. — **quid tandem**: *i.e. quid tam inconsiderate dixi?* — **verbi causa**, *for example*. — **M. Crassum**: M. Licinius Crassus, noted for his wealth, was associated with Caesar and Pompey in the so-called First Triumvirate. He was defeated and slain by the Parthians, 53 B.C. — **qui . . . dimiserit**: a causal clause. — **Cn. Pompeium**: Cn. Pompeius Magnus, defeated by Caesar at Pharsalus, 48 B.C. — **oportet**: *i.e.* in the nature of things. — **nihil . . . esse**: *i.e.* no epithet can be

A. Non dico fortasse etiam quod sentio; nam istuc ipsum, non esse, cum fueris, miserrimum puto.

M. Quid? miserius quam omnino nunquam fuisse? 13
Ita, qui nondum nati sunt, miseri iam sunt, quia non sunt, et nos, si post mortem miseri futuri sumus, miseri fuimus ante quam nati. Ego autem non commemini ante quam sum natus me miserum; tu si meliore memoria es, velim scire ecquid de te recordere.

A. Ita iocaris, quasi ego dicam eos miseros, qui nati 7
non sint, et non eos miseros, qui mortui sunt.

M. Esse ergo eos dicis.

A. Immo, quia non sint, cum fuerint, eo miseros esse.

M. Pugnantia te loqui non vides? Quid enim tam pugnat quam non modo miserum, sed omnino quicquam esse, qui non sit? An tu egressus porta Capena cum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum sepulcra vides, miseros putas illos?

applied to them. — **non . . . sentio**: *i.e.* perhaps I do not make my meaning clear.

13. **ita**: introducing the conclusion; cf. *ita ne . . . sunt*, 12. This answer omits all reference to the words **cum fueris**. — **me miserum**: for the omission of *esse*, cf. *miserrimum puto*, 12; *miseros putas illos*, below; and see A. & G. 239 a. n 1.

7. **et non**, *and not rather; ac non* and *neque* are more frequently used in this corrective sense. — **immo**, *on the other hand*. — **cum fuerint**: cf. *cum fueris*, 12. — **pugnantia**, *contradictory statements*. — **miserum . . . esse**: the subject is *eum*, understood, the antecedent of **qui non sit**. — **porta Capena**: the gate in the Servian wall through which the Via Appia passed; cf. Juv. 3. 11 *madidamque Capenam*. The Roman roads were lined with tombs; cf. Juv. 1. 171. — **Calatini**: A. Atilius, a native of Calatia in Campania, was consul in the First Punic War, 258 and 254 B.C., and dictator 249 B.C. For his epitaph, cf. *de Sen.* 61. — **Scipionum**: the tombs of the Scipios were discovered in 1780. — **Serviliorum**: to this family belonged Cn. Servilius Caepio, consul 169 B.C., and Q. Servilius Caepio, consul 106 B.C. — **Metellorum**: the most distinguished Metelli were L. Caecilius, who defeated the Carthaginians at Panormus, 251 B.C., Q. Caecilius Macedonicus, consul 143 B.C., and Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus,

A. Quoniam me verbo premis, posthac non ita dicam, miseros esse, sed tantum miseros ob id ipsum, quia non sint.

M. Non dicis igitur: 'Miser est M. Crassus,' sed tantum: 'Miser M. Crassus?'

A. Ita plane.

14 *M.* Quasi non necesse sit, quicquid isto modo pronunties, id aut esse aut non esse! An tu dialecticis ne imbutus quidem es? In primis enim hoc traditur: omne pronuntiatum (sic enim mihi in praesentia occurrit ut appellarem *ἀξίωμα*; utar post alio, si invenero melius) — id ergo est pronuntiatum, quod est verum aut falsum. Cum igitur dicis: 'Miser M. Crassus,' aut hoc dicis: 'Miser est Crassus,' ut possit iudicari verum id falsumne sit, aut nihil dicis omnino.

A. Age, iam concedo non esse miseros, qui mortui sint, quoniam extorsisti ut faterer, qui omnino non essent, eos ne miseros quidem esse posse. Quid? qui

consul 109 B.C. — **verbo premis**: the point is the word **esse**. — **non . . . igitur**: for the position of **igitur**, cf. *quid . . . igitur*, 12.

14. **an**: see *an*, 10 n. — **imbutus**: used in reference to superficial knowledge and so distinguished from *eruditus*, *doctus*, etc.; cf. *Or.* 165 *non instituti, sed imbuti;* Quint. I. 2. 16 *quisquam litteris saltem leviter imbutus;* Tac. *Dial.* 19. 6 *elementis studiorum, etsi non instructus, at certe imbutus;* also Hor. *Ep.* II. 2. 7 *litterulis . . . imbutus.* — **in primis**, *in the first principles of logic.* — **omne pronuntiatum . . . invenero melius**: cf. *Acad.* II. 95 *fundamentum dialecticae est, quidquid enuntietur* (*id autem appellant ἀξίωμα, quod est quasi effatum*) *aut verum esse aut falsum;* also Gell. XVI. 8. 8. — **occurrit**: in the perfect. — **id ergo . . . falsum**: an example of anacoluthon; we should expect *omne pronuntiatum aut verum aut falsum est;* but after the parenthesis the construction is changed; **ergo** (*igitur* is more often employed for this purpose) resumes the discourse interrupted by **sic . . . melius**. — **miser est Crassus**: *i.e.* the proposition must contain a subject and predicate or it is meaningless. — **age**: this calls attention not so much to **iam concedo**, etc., as to the objection, put in the form of a question, **quid . . . sumus?** — **quoniam . . . faterer**, *since you have forced*

vivimus, cum moriendum sit, nonne miseri sumus? Quae enim potest in vita esse iucunditas, cum dies et noctes cogitandum sit iam iamque esse moriendum?

M. Ecquid ergo intellegis quantum mali de humana condicione deieceris? 8 15

A. Quonam modo?

M. Quia, si mori etiam mortuis miserum esset, infinitum quoddam et sempiternum malum haberemus in vita; nunc video calcem, ad quam cum sit decursum, nihil sit praeterea extimescendum. Sed tu mihi videris Epicharmi, acuti nec insulsi hominis, ut Siculi, sententiam sequi.

A. Quam? non enim novi.

M. Dicam, si potero, Latine. Scis enim me Graece loqui in Latino sermone non plus solere quam in Graeco Latine.

A. Et recte quidem. Sed quae tandem est Epicharmi ista sententia?

M. Émori nolo, sed me esse mórtuum nihili aéstimo.

me to admit. — **iam iamque,** *shortly, even now.*

8. 15. **ecquid,** *at all;* used to give emphasis to the question. — **quantum . . . deieceris:** cf. *quantum . . . de doloris terrore deieceris,* II. 14. — **in vita:** see Crit. App. — **calcem . . . decursum:** a familiar figure taken from the Roman Circus; cf. *de Sen.* 83 *nec vero velim quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari.* — **Epicharmi:** Epicharmus, though probably born in Cos, passed his life at Syracuse. He has been called the inventor of comedy, having produced, about 500 B.C., the first comedy properly so called. In philosophy Epicharmus was a follower of Pythagoras. He died about 452 B.C. at an advanced age. — **ut Siculi:** *i.e.* it was to be expected that he, being a Sicilian, would be *witty* (**nec insulsi**); *ut* is not used here in a restrictive sense "for a Sicilian." On the wit of the Sicilians, cf. *in Verr.* IV. 95 *numquam tam male est Siculis quin aliquid facete et commode dicant.* — **scis enim . . . Latine:** cf. *de Off.* I. 111 *ut enim sermone eo debemus uti qui innatus est nobis* etc. — **emori . . . aestimo:** a trochaic tetrameter

A. Iam adgnosco Graecum. Sed quoniam coegisti ut concederem, qui mortui essent, eos miseros non esse, perfice, si potes, ut ne moriendum quidem esse miserum putem.

16 *M.* Iam istuc quidem nihil negotii est, sed maiora molior.

A. Quo modo hoc nihil negotii est? aut quae sunt tandem ista maiora?

M. Quia, quoniam post mortem mali nihil est, ne mors quidem est malum, cui proximum tempus est post mortem in quo mali nihil esse concedis: ita ne moriendum quidem esse malum est; id est enim perveniendum esse ad id quod non esse malum confitemur.

A. Vberius ista, quaeso. Haec enim spinosiora prius ut confitear me cogunt quam ut adsentiar. Sed quae sunt ea quae dicis te maiora moliri?

M. Vt doceam, si possim, non modo malum non esse, sed bonum etiam esse mortem.

A. Non postulo id quidem, aveo tamen audire. Vt enim non efficias quod vis, tamen mors ut malum non sit efficies. Sed nihil te interpellabo; continentem orationem audire malo.

catalectic. — **adgnosco Graecum**, *I remember the Greek verse*; cf. II. 26 *unde isti versus? non enim adgnosco.* — **coegisti ut concederem**: cf. *extorsisti ut fateremur*, 14, and *ut confitear me cogunt*, 16. — **moriendum . . . esse**: translate, *that we must die.*

16. **istuc**: see note on *ista*, 10. — **nihil negotii**, *not difficult.* — **cui . . . mortem**: construe **cui** (*morti*) **proximum tempus est** (*tempus*) **post mortem**. — **in quo**: sc. *tempore.* — **confitemur**, *we agree in thinking.* — **haec . . . spinosiora**, *these too subtle arguments.* — **prius**: equivalent to *potius.* — **confitear . . . adsentiar**: the first is forced, the second voluntary; *confiteri* is used when one is unable to answer his opponent and so is compelled to yield, *adsentiri* when one is convinced. — **aveo . . . audire**: cf. *aveo . . . audire*, 112. — **ut . . . efficias**: ut is used concessively; **ut non** instead of *ne*, because the negative belongs to a single word. — **mors ut . . . sit**: an abbreviated expression for *ut . . . esse putem*; cf. *ut . . . esse . . . putem*, 15. — **continentem orationem**: Cicero passes

M. Quid, si te rogavero aliquid? nonne respondebis? 17

A. Superbum id quidem est, sed nisi quid necesse erit, malo non roges.

M. Geram tibi morem et ea quae vis, ut potero, 9 explicabo, nec tamen quasi Pythius Apollo, certa ut sint et fixa quae dixero, sed ut homunculus unus e multis, probabilia coniectura sequens. Vltra enim quo progrediar quam ut veri similia videam, non habeo; certa dicent ii qui et percipi ea posse dicunt et se sapientis esse profitentur.

A. Tu, ut videtur; nos ad audiendum parati sumus.

M. Mors igitur ipsa, quae videtur notissima res esse, 18 quid sit primum est videndum. Sunt enim qui discessum animi a corpore putent esse mortem; sunt qui nullum censeant fieri discessum, sed una animum et corpus occidere animumque in corpore exstingui. Qui discedere animum censent, alii statim dissipari, alii diu

from the true Socratic dialogue with question and answer to the Aristotelian form, consisting of *connected discourse* with only few and brief interruptions on the part of the hearers.

17. **superbum id**: *i.e. non respondere.* — **est**: for the mood, see A. & G. 264 b. — **non roges**: Kühner explains this as opposed to the preceding **si te rogavero** and about equivalent to *abstineas rogando*, and thus justifies **non roges** instead of *ne roges*, which some editors prefer.

9. **geram tibi morem**, *I will comply with your request.* — **ut potero**, *the best I can;* note the exactness of the Latin idiom. — **quasi Pythius Apollo**, *like the Pythian Apollo.* — **unus e multis**, *an ordinary mortal;* cf. Hor. *S.* I. 9. 71 *unus multorum.* — **probabilia . . . sequens**: the method of the New Academy; cf. Intr. 8. — **ultra . . . quam**: *ultra* has the force of a comparative and is practically equivalent to *longius.* — **percipi . . . posse**: the Stoics held that absolute knowledge was attainable. — **sapientis**: a reference to the Stoic theory of the ideal *wise* man. — **tu**: sc. *agas.*

18. **mors . . . videndum**: the nature of death must first be considered. — **discessum animi . . . mortem**: the teaching of Plato, *Phaed.* p. 64 c. — **alii . . . dissipari**: sc. *censent;* the belief of the Epicureans, who held that the soul was composed of the finest atoms. — **alii . . . permanere**: the Stoics thought that the souls of even the best would endure

permanere, alii semper. Quid sit porro ipse animus aut ubi aut unde, magna dissensio est. Aliis cor ipsum animus videtur, ex quo excordes, vaecordes concordesque dicuntur et Nasica ille prudens bis consul Corculum et

Egregie cordatus homo, catus Aelius Sextus.

19 Empedocles animum esse censet cordi suffusum sanguinem; aliis pars quaedam cerebri visa est animi principatum tenere; aliis nec cor ipsum placet nec cerebri quandam partem esse animum, sed alii in corde, alii in cerebro dixerunt animi esse sedem et locum. Animum autem alii animam, ut fere nostri (declarant nomina; nam et agere animam et efflare dicimus et animosos et bene animatos et ex animi sententia; ipse autem animus ab anima dictus est). Zenoni Stoico animus

only until the final destruction of the world by fire. — **alii semper**: sc. *permanere;* the teaching of Socrates and Plato; cf. *de Sen.* 78. — **cor . . . animus videtur**: a popular rather than philosophical use of the word *cor.* — **excordes, vaecordes, concordes**, *brainless, foolish* (or *insane*), *of one mind.* In these epithets *cor* corresponds more to the English *mind* than to "soul." — **Nasica**: P. Scipio Nasica, surnamed *Corculum* on account of his wisdom, consul 162 and 155 B.C. — **egregie . . . Aelius Sextus**: from the *Annales* of Ennius; this verse is also quoted in *de Or.* I. 198. Final s in **Aelius** is ignored in the scansion. Sex. Aelius Paetus, consul 198 B.C., was an eminent jurist and a lawyer of ability. He received the surname *Catus* on account of his keenness and legal knowledge; see Varro *L. L.* VII. 46.

19. **Empedocles**: a physician and philosopher of Agrigentum; flourished about 450 B.C. Only fragments of his philosophical poem, Περὶ Φύσεως, now remain. The words here referred to, αἷμα γὰρ ἀνθρώποις περικάρδιόν ἐστι νόημα, merely indicate the seat of the soul as in the heart's blood. — **alii in corde**: the Stoics and Epicureans. — **alii in cerebro**: the Pythagoreans. — **animum . . . nomina**: for the reading, see Crit. App. — **alii animam**: sc. *dixerunt.* — **ut . . . nostri**: the Romans. — **agere animam et efflare**, *to breathe out one's life, to expire.* — **animus ab anima**: these have the same root *an, to breathe*, and are cognate with ἄνεμος — **Zenoni**: Zeno of Citium in Cyprus, founder of the

ignis videtur. Sed haec quidem, quae dixi, cor, cere- 10
brum, animam, ignem vulgo; reliqua fere singuli, ut multo ante veteres, proxime autem Aristoxenus, musicus idemque philosophus, ipsius corporis intentionem quandam, velut in cantu et fidibus quae ἁρμονία dicitur, sic ex corporis totius natura et figura varios motus cieri tamquam in cantu sonos. Hic ab artificio suo non 20
recessit et tamen dixit aliquid, quod ipsum quale esset erat multo ante et dictum et explanatum a Platone. Xenocrates animi figuram et quasi corpus negavit esse, [verum] numerum dixit esse, cuius vis, ut iam ante Pythagorae visum erat, in natura maxima esset. Eius doctor Plato triplicem finxit animum, cuius principatum,

Stoic school of philosophy. He called the soul πνεῦμα ἔνθερμον, *warm breath*, of which **ignis** is not an accurate translation.

10. vulgo: sc. *animum esse censent*. The opinions just mentioned have been those generally (**vulgo**) accepted. In **reliqua**, etc., Cicero refers to individual beliefs. — **singuli**: sc. *censent*. — **ut**, *as for example*. — **multo**: see Crit. App. — **veteres**: *i.e.* earlier philosophers. — **proxime**, *nearest to our times*; contrasted with **multo ante**. — **Aristoxenus**: a Greek philosopher and musician of Tarentum, and a pupil of Aristotle. He flourished about 330 B.C. A part of his work on the Theory of Music has come down to us. — **ipsius . . . quandam**: sc. *animum esse censet*. — **intentionem**, *tension, tuning*. — **velut . . . fidibus**: sc. *cieatur* from **cieri**, below. — **motus**, *vibrations*. The meaning of this passage is made clearer by Lact. (*Inst.* VII. 13), who thus explains the theory of Aristoxenus: *sicut in fidibus ex intentione nervorum effici concordem sonum atque cantum, quem musici harmoniam vocant, ita in corporibus ex compage viscerum ac vigore membrorum vim sentiendi exsistere.*

20. **artificio suo**: *i.e.* music. — **multo ante . . . Platone**: Plato (427–347 B.C.) refutes this opinion; cf. *Phaed.* 92 ff. — **Xenocrates**: Xenocrates (400–316 B.C.) of Chalcedon, a pupil of Plato and successor of Speusippus as the head of the Academy. — **verum**: see Crit. App. — **Pythagorae**: Pythagoras of Samos (circ. 580–500 B.C.) founded a school of philosophy at Crotona in Italy. Pythagoras found the key to the universe in *number* and proportion. "Number makes the universe a κόσμος." — **eius**: sc. Xenocrates. — **triplicem . . . animum**, *a threefold soul*; in the *Timaeus* (69 d) Plato divides the soul into νοῦς, *ratio*; θυμός, *ira*; and ἐπιθυμία, *cupiditas*. — **principatum**: *i.e. principem partem*.

id est rationem, in capite sicut in arce posuit, et duas partes ei parere voluit, iram et cupiditatem, quas suis locis, iram in pectore, cupiditatem subter praecordia,
21 locavit. Dicaearchus autem in eo sermone, quem Corinthi habitum tribus libris exponit, doctorum hominum disputantium primo libro multos loquentis facit; duobus Pherecraten quendam Phthiotam senem, quem ait a Deucalione ortum, disserentem inducit nihil esse omnino animum, et hoc esse nomen totum inane frustraque animalia et animantis appellari, neque in homine inesse animum vel animam nec in bestia, vimque omnem eam, qua vel agamus quid vel sentiamus, in omnibus corporibus vivis aequabiliter esse fusam nec separabilem a corpore esse, quippe quae nulla sit nec sit quicquam nisi corpus unum et simplex, ita figuratum ut temperatione
22 naturae vigeat et sentiat. Aristoteles, longe omnibus (Platonem semper excipio) praestans et ingenio et diligentia, cum quattuor nota illa genera principiorum esset complexus, e quibus omnia orerentur, quintam quandam naturam censet esse, e qua sit mens. Cogitare enim et

21. **Dicaearchus**: Dicaearchus of Messina, who flourished about 300 B.C., was a pupil of Aristotle; but he was more prominent as a historian than as a philosopher. His chief work was *The Life of Greece*. — **Corinthi . . . exponit**: this was a philosophical work in three books, Περὶ Ψυχῆς, and was entitled Κορινθιακοί; for the Λεσβιακοί, written at Mytilene, cf. 77. — **duobus**: sc. *reliquis*. — **Pherecraten**: Pherecrates of Phthia in Thessaly. — **Deucalione**: a fabled king of Phthia. With his wife Pyrrha he survived the deluge and repeopled the earth. — **inane**, *meaningless*. — **frustra**: *i.e. sine causa*. — **animalia et animantis**: when these terms are distinguished, the first is applied to men and beasts, the second includes men, beasts, and plants. — **quippe . . . sit**, *since it does not exist by itself*. — **temperatione**, *organization*.

22. **Platonem . . . excipio**: cf. *N. D.* II. 32 *Platonem quasi quendam deum philosophorum*; Quint. X. 1. 65 *post Homerum tamen, quem ut Achillem semper excipi par est*. — **quattuor . . . principiorum**: *i.e.* the four elements: *terra, aqua, aër, ignis*. — **quintam . . . naturam . . . mens**: Aristotle

providere et discere et docere et invenire aliquid et tam multa alia meminisse, amare odisse, cupere timere, angi laetari, haec et similia eorum in horum quattuor generum inesse nullo putat; quintum genus adhibet vacans nomine et sic ipsum animum ἐνδελέχειαν appellat novo nomine quasi quandam continuatam motionem et perennem.

Nisi quae me forte fugiunt, haec sunt fere de animo **11** sententiae. Democritum enim, magnum illum quidem virum, sed levibus et rotundis corpusculis efficientem animum concursu quodam fortuito, omittamus; nihil est enim apud istos quod non atomorum turba conficiat. Harum sententiarum quae vera sit deus aliqui viderit; **23** quae veri simillima, magna quaestio est. Vtrum igitur inter has sententias diiudicare malumus an ad propositum redire?

A. Cuperem equidem utrumque, si posset, sed est difficile confundere. Quare si, ut ista non disserantur,

referred to the heavenly bodies, τὰ *αἰθέρια*, and not to *animus*, *the soul*, as the *fifth element*. Cicero has undoubtedly confused Aristotle's theory with that of the Stoics, who held that the stars were spirits and that the souls of men were of the same substance as the heavenly bodies. — **ἐνδελέχειαν**: this is the reading of Cicero, as shown by his definition **continuatam motionem**, *constant activity*. But Aristotle used the term ἐντελέχεια, *actual being*, as opposed to δύναμις, mere *potentiality*; thus defining the soul as that which gives *actual existence* to the body.

11. haec: feminine plural (full form *haece*), archaic for *hae*. — **Democritum**: Democritus of Abdera in Thrace (circ. 460–362 B.C.) developed the atomic theory of his teacher Leucippus. — **levibus**: from *lēvis*, *smooth*. — **corpusculis**, *atoms*. — **concursu . . . fortuito**: cf. *N. D.* I. 66. — **apud istos**: *i.e.* Democritus and his followers. The Epicureans adopted the atomic theory to explain the origin of the universe.

23. deus aliqui viderit, *let some god decide*. — **quae veri simillima**: the Academic view of knowledge as opposed to the Stoic theory. — **si posset**: sc. *fieri*. — **confundere**: equivalent to *coniungere*, *to combine the two*, *i.e.* the decision between the conflicting opinions and the discussion of the original topic (**propositum**). — **ut ista**: see *ut*, 16 n. — **hoc**:

liberari mortis metu possumus, id agamus; sin id non potest nisi hac quaestione animorum explicata, nunc, si videtur, hoc, illud alias.

M. Quod malle te intellego, id puto esse commodius. Efficiet enim ratio ut, quaecumque vera sit earum sententiarum quas exposui, mors aut malum non sit aut sit
24 bonum potius. Nam si cor aut sanguis aut cerebrum est animus, certe, quoniam est corpus, interibit cum reliquo corpore; si anima est, fortasse dissipabitur; si ignis, exstinguetur; si est Aristoxeni harmonia, dissolvetur. Quid de Dicaearcho dicam, qui nihil omnino animum dicat esse? His sententiis omnibus nihil post mortem pertinere ad quemquam potest; pariter enim cum vita sensus amittitur; non sentientis autem nihil est ullam in partem quod intersit. Reliquorum sententiae spem adferunt, si te hoc forte delectat, posse animos, cum e corporibus excesserint, in caelum quasi in domicilium suum pervenire.

A. Me vero delectat, idque primum ita esse velim, deinde, etiamsi non sit, mihi persuaderi tamen velim.

M. Quid tibi ergo opera nostra opus est? num eloquentia Platonem superare possumus? Evolve diligenter eius eum librum qui est de animo; amplius quod desideres nihil erit.

A. Feci mehercule, et quidem saepius; sed nescio quo modo, dum lego, adsentior, cum posui librum et

refers to **quaestione animorum.** — **illud**: refers to **propositum**, above. — **ratio**: the philosophical discussion of the subject. — **quaecumque**, *whichever one.* — **mors . . . non sit**: explained by the passage, **nam si cor . . . intersit.**

24. his sententiis omnibus: the ablative of cause, *according to.* — **sentientis**: depends upon **intersit.** — **quasi in domicilium suum**: cf. *de Sen.* 84 ***ex vita ita discedo tamquam ex hospitio, non tamquam e domo.*** — **eius . . . librum**: the *Phaedo.* — **est de**, *treats of.* — **feci**: *i.e.* ***evolvi; facio*** is often thus used instead of a preceding verb; cf. ***do*** and **ποιῶ.**

mecum ipse de immortalitate animorum coepi cogitare, adsensio omnis illa elabitur.

M. Quid hoc? dasne aut manere animos post mortem 25
aut morte ipsa interire?

A. Do vero.

M. Quid, si maneant?

A. Beatos esse concedo.

M. Sin intereant?

A. Non esse miseros, quoniam ne sint quidem; iam istuc coacti a te paulo ante concessimus.

M. Quo modo igitur aut cur mortem malum tibi videri dicis? quae aut beatos nos efficiet animis manentibus aut non miseros sensu carentis.

A. Expone igitur, nisi molestum est, primum, si potes, 12
animos remanere post mortem, tum, si minus id obtinebis (est enim arduum), docebis carere omni malo mortem. Ego enim istuc ipsum vereor ne malum sit, non dico carere sensu, sed carendum esse.

M. Auctoribus quidem ad istam sententiam, quam vis obtineri, uti optimis possumus, quod in omnibus causis et debet et solet valere plurimum, et primum quidem omni antiquitate, quae quo propius aberat ab ortu et divina progenie, hoc melius ea fortasse, quae erant vera, cernebat.

25. quid hoc: used merely to introduce the following question. — **dasne**, *do you admit?* — **do vero**: emphatic *yes.* — **sint**, *exist;* the reason is assigned to M. — **animis manentibus**: with the force of a conditional clause.

12. 26. molestum, *too much trouble.* — **si . . . obtinebis**, *if you do not prove this;* for the future, see *potero*, 17 n. — **docebis**: the future with the force of the imperative. — **carendum esse**: *i.e.* the anticipation of the annihilation of the soul. — **primum quidem**: the word corresponding to this is *porro*, 30. — **omni antiquitate**: *i.e.* the men of ancient times. The philosophers, especially the Stoics, relied much upon the authority of the ancients. — **quo . . . aberat ab**, *the nearer it was to.* — **divina progenie**, *divine descent.*

27 Itaque unum illud erat insitum priscis illis, quos 'cascos' appellat Ennius, esse in morte sensum, neque excessu vitae sic deleri hominem ut funditus interiret; idque cum multis aliis rebus, tum e pontificio iure et e caerimoniis sepulcrorum intellegi licet, quas maximis ingeniis praediti nec tanta cura coluissent nec violatas tam inexpiabili religione sanxissent, nisi haereret in eorum mentibus mortem non interitum esse omnia tollentem atque delentem, sed quandam quasi migrationem commutationemque vitae, quae in claris viris et feminis dux in caelum soleret esse, in ceteris humi retineretur
28 et permaneret tamen. Ex hoc et nostrorum opinione 'Romulus in caelo cum dis agit aevum,' ut famae adsentiens dixit Ennius, et apud Graecos indeque perlapsus ad nos et usque ad Oceanum Hercules tantus et tam praesens habetur deus; hinc Liber Semela natus eademque famae celebritate Tyndaridae fratres, qui non

27. **unum illud**: equivalent to *illud potissimum*. — **cascos**: Varro, *L. L.* VII. 28, explains *cascus* as a word of Sabine origin, meaning *old, vetus*. — **excessu vitae**: equivalent to *excessu e vita*. — **caerimoniis sepulcrorum**, *burial rites*. — **violatas . . . sanxissent**: the violation of funeral rites was an offense for which no expiation could be made. — **haereret**: for the imperfect referring to past time in a condition contrary to fact, when a repeated or continued action is denoted, see A. & G. 308 a. — **quae . . . tamen**: this passage is obscure on account of its brevity; the logical subject of **soleret** is *migratio commutatioque vitae*, but with **retineretur et permaneret** we must understand *vita* as the subject; cf. *Som. Scip.* 8 *iustitiam cole et pietatem . . . Ea vita via est in caelum*; ibid. 21 *namque eorum animi qui se corporis voluptatibus dediderunt . . . corporibus elapsi circum terram ipsam volutantur nec hunc in locum nisi multis exagitati saeculis revertuntur.*

28. **Romulus . . . aevum**: Servius quotes the verse *ad Aen.* VI. 764 *Romulus in caelo cum dis genitalibus aevum Degit*; cf. Liv. I. 16. — **indeque . . . Hercules**: Hercules had a temple on the island Erytheia, near the Phoenician colony of Gades. For the beginning of his worship in Rome, cf. Liv. I. 7. — **tam praesens**, *so ready to help*, because at hand, *present*. — **Liber**: an old Italian divinity usually identified with the Greek Bacchus; son of Jupiter and Semele (Semela). — **Tyndaridae**

modo adiutores in proeliis victoriae populi Romani, sed etiam nuntii fuisse perhibentur. Quid? Ino Cadmi filia nonne Λευκοθέα nominata a Graecis Matuta habetur a nostris? quid? totum prope caelum, ne pluris persequar, nonne humano genere completum est? Si vero scrutari vetera et ex iis ea, quae scriptores Graeciae prodiderunt, eruere conet, ipsi illi maiorum gentium di qui habentur, hinc a nobis profecti in caelum reperientur. Quaere quorum demonstrentur sepulcra in Graecia, reminiscere, quoniam es initiatus, quae tradantur mysteriis; tum denique quam hoc late pateat intelleges. Sed qui nondum ea, quae multis post annis tractari coepta sunt, physica didicissent, tantum sibi persuaserant quantum natura admonente cognoverant, rationes et causas rerum non tenebant, visis quibusdam saepe movebantur iisque maxime nocturnis, ut viderentur ei qui vita excesserant

fratres: Castor and Pollux; said to have aided the Romans against the Tarquins at Lake Regillus, 496 B.C., and to have announced to P. Vatinius the victory of Aem. Paullus over Perseus at Pydna, 168 B.C.; cf. *N. D.* II. 6. The placing a temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum and the frequent appearance of the brothers on early coins illustrate the regard of the Romans for this legend. — **Ino . . . filia**: Ino, daughter of Cadmus (fabled founder of Thebes); wife of Athamas, king of Thebes. In flight from her insane husband she threw herself into the sea and was changed into a sea divinity. — **Matuta**: goddess of the dawn.

13. 29. vetera, *old records*. — **maiorum gentium di**, *the superior deities*; the expression is taken from the division of the senators into *patres maiorum et minorum gentium*. The gods referred to are: Jupiter, Neptune, Juno, Vesta, Ceres, Minerva, Venus, Diana, Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Vulcan. — **hinc . . . reperientur**: the teaching of Euhemerus, a Sicilian Greek, who flourished about 300 B.C. He wrote a work entitled Ἱερὰ Ἀναγραφή to show that the gods were only deified mortals. Thus Jupiter was an early king of Crete. — **quorum . . . in Graecia**: Jupiter's tomb was pointed out in Crete. — **mysteriis**: the Eleusinian Mysteries in worship of Ceres, into which Cicero had been initiated; cf. *de Leg.* II. 36. — **quam . . . pateat**, *how wide is the application of this doctrine*, namely, Euhemerism. — **sed qui**: introducing a causal clause. — **physica**, *philosophy, metaphysics*.

30 vivere. Vt porro firmissimum hoc adferri videtur cur deos esse credamus, quod nulla gens tam fera, nemo omnium tam sit inmanis, cuius mentem non imbuerit deorum opinio (multi de dis prava sentiunt; id enim vitioso more effici solet; omnes tamen esse vim et naturam divinam arbitrantur, nec vero id conlocutio hominum aut consessus effecit, non institutis opinio est confirmata, non legibus; omni autem in re consensio omnium gentium lex naturae putanda est) — quis est igitur qui suorum mortem primum non eo lugeat, quod eos orbatos vitae commodis arbitretur? Tolle hanc opinionem, luctum sustuleris. Nemo enim maeret suo incommodo; dolent fortasse et anguntur; sed illa lugubris lamentatio fletusque maerens ex eo est, quod eum, quem dileximus, vitae commodis privatum arbitramur idque sentire. Atque haec ita sentimus natura duce, nulla ratione nullaque doctrina.

14
31 Maximum vero argumentum est naturam ipsam de immortalitate animorum tacitam iudicare, quod omnibus

30. firmissimum, *the strongest proof.* — **deorum opinio**: an objective genitive, *opinio de dis.* — **prava**, *wrong opinions.* — **vitioso more**, *by prejudice.* — **quis est igitur**: a case of anacoluthon after the parenthetical sentence **multi . . . putanda est. igitur** resumes the interrupted discourse. Corresponding to **ut porro . . . opinio** we should have expected a clause introduced by *ita*, "as the existence of the gods is proved by the universal belief of men, so the immortality of the soul can be proved in the same way." — **primum**: the correlative term is lacking; **maximum vero**, 31, introduces the next argument. — **tolle**: the imperative with the force of a condition. — **maeret**: this refers to the outward expression of grief, **dolent** and **anguntur** rather to the inward feeling. — **idque sentire**, *and that he is conscious of it.* — **sentimus**, *we think.*

14. 31. maximum . . . argumentum: the third argument for the immortality of the soul; the first begins with **primum quidem**, 26; the second is in the passage **ut porro . . . quis est igitur**, 30. The clause **maximum . . . est** is the predicate of **quod . . . sint**; the infinitive clause, **naturam . . . iudicare**, depends upon **maximum . . . est.** — **tacitam**: the

curae sunt, et maximae quidem, quae post mortem futura sint.

Serít arborés, quae alterí saeclo prósint,

ut ait ille in Synephebis, quid spectans nisi etiam postera saecula ad se pertinere? Ergo arbores seret diligens agricola quarum aspiciet bacam ipse numquam; vir magnus leges, instituta, rem publicam non seret? Quid procreatio liberorum, quid propagatio nominis, quid adoptationes filiorum, quid testamentorum diligentia, quid ipsa sepulcrorum monumenta, elogia significant nisi nos futura etiam cogitare? Quid? illud num dubitas quin specimen 32 naturae capi deceat ex optima quaque natura? Quae est melior igitur in hominum genere natura quam eorum qui se natos ad homines iuvandos, tutandos, conservandos arbitrantur? Abiit ad deos Hercules; numquam abisset, nisi, cum inter homines esset, eam sibi viam munivisset. Vetera iam ista et religione omnium consecrata. Quid 15

English idiom would require an adverb, *tacite*. — **serit . . . prosint**: probably a bacchiac tetrameter, read thus:

⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏓ | ⏓ ⏓

The final syllable of **serit** is made long by the ictus. The last foot is a molossus. — **ait ille . . . Synephebis**: see Crit. App.; also cf. *de Sen.* 24. The *Synephebi*, *The Young Friends*, based upon a play of Menander, was written by Caecilius Statius (circ. 219–166 B.C.), an Insubrian Gaul, who was brought to Rome a prisoner. After manumission Statius became the successor of Plautus as a writer of comedies. — **ergo**: introducing, in the form of a question, the argument from the less to the greater. — **bacam**: *i.e. fructum*. — **non seret**: used figuratively, with omission of adversative conjunction. — **adoptationes filiorum**: adoption was common among the Romans and had much greater significance than it has in any modern nation. — **diligentia**: *i.e.* the careful preparation. — **monumenta, elogia**: note the asyndeton.

32. **specimen naturae . . . natura**: *i.e.* the ideal type is to be taken from the best individual. — **iuvandos . . . conservandos**: note similarity of ending; cf. *Som. Scip.* 5 *omnibus qui patriam conservaverint adiuverint auxerint certum esse in caelo definitum locum, ubi beati aevo sempiterno fruantur*. — **Hercules**: see 28 n. — **eam . . . viam**: *i.e. viam ad caelum*.

15. **vetera . . . consecrata**: referring to the fables regarding

in hac re publica tot tantosque viros ob rem publicam interfectos cogitasse arbitramur? isdemne ut finibus nomen suum, quibus vita, terminaretur? Nemo umquam sine magna spe immortalitatis se pro patria offerret ad
33 mortem. Licuit esse otioso Themistocli, licuit Epaminondae, licuit, ne et vetera et externa quaeram, mihi, sed nescio quo modo inhaeret in mentibus quasi saeclorum quoddam augurium futurorum, idque in maximis ingeniis altissimisque animis et exsistit maxime et apparet facillime. Quo quidem dempto, quis tam esset amens qui semper in laboribus et periculis viveret?
34 Loquor de principibus; quid? poetae nonne post mortem nobilitari volunt? Vnde ergo illud?

Aspicite, o cives, senis Enni imaginis formam.
Hic vestrum panxit maxima facta patrum.

Mercedem gloriae flagitat ab iis quorum patres adfecerat gloria, idemque:

Nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu
Faxit. Cur? volito vivos per ora virum.

Hercules and preparing the way for a transition to later examples; sc. *sunt*. — **cogitasse**, *had in view, were striving for*; the following construction is **ut** and the subjunctive instead of the infinitive, which would have been used if **cogitasse** had been employed in its ordinary meaning. With this passage, cf. *de Sen.* 82. — **sine . . . spe** = *nisi magnam spem haberet*; see A. & G. 310 a.

33. **Themistocli . . . Epaminondae**: see 4 n. — **et vetera et externa**, *both ancient and foreign*; *aut . . . aut* is the more common construction after a negative (**ne**). — **idque . . . facillime**: cf. *de Sen.* 83 *nonne vobis videtur is animus, qui plus cernat et longius, videre se ad meliora proficisci?*

34. **principibus**, *statesmen*; so in 101. — **illud**, *well-known*; sc. *elogium*. — **aspicite . . . patrum**: elegiac distich; hiatus after **Enni** with consequent shortening of **i**; final **s** in **imaginis** is ignored in the scansion. For **panxit**, see Crit. App.; with **facta** it refers to the *Annales* of Ennius. These lines with the following couplet are supposed to have been written by Ennius to be placed under his bust in the tomb of the Scipios. — **mercedem gloriae**: the genitive of definition is used instead of an appositive. — **nemo . . . virum**: cf. 117. — **faxit**: for *fecerit*. —

Sed quid poetas? opifices post mortem nobilitari volunt. Quid enim Phidias sui similem speciem inclusit in clupeo Minervae, cum inscribere nomen non liceret? Quid? nostri philosophi nonne in iis libris ipsis quos scribunt de contemnenda gloria, sua nomina inscribunt? Quodsi 35
omnium consensus naturae vox est, omnesque, qui ubique sunt, consentiunt esse aliquid quod ad eos pertineat qui vita cesserint, nobis quoque idem existimandum est, et si, quorum aut ingenio aut virtute animus excellit, eos arbitramur, quia natura optima sint, cernere naturae vim maxime, veri simile est, cum optimus quisque maxime posteritati serviat, esse aliquid cuius is post mortem sensum sit habiturus.

Sed ut deos esse natura opinamur, quales sint ratione 16
cognoscimus, sic permanere animos arbitramur consensu 36
nationum omnium, qua in sede maneant qualesque sint ratione discendum est. Cuius ignoratio finxit inferos easque formidines quas tu contemnere non sine causa

vivos: archaic for *vivus;* final **s** is treated as in **imaginis**, above. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* II. 20. 21–24. — **poetas**: sc. *commemoro;* cf. 100. — **opifices**, *artists.* — **Phidias**: Phidias, the greatest sculptor of Greece, had general oversight of all the works of art erected in Athens in the age of Pericles. Next to the Olympian Zeus his greatest work was the ivory and gold statue of Athena in the Parthenon. In the battle of the Amazons on the shield of the goddess, Phidias introduced his own likeness. For this act he was afterwards accused of impiety and thrown into prison, where he died of disease, 432 B.C.; cf. Val. Max. VIII. 14. 6 *Phidiae secutus exemplum qui clipeo Minervae effigiem suam inclusit, qua convulsa, tota operis colligatio solveretur.* — **nomen non**: see Crit. App. — **sua . . . inscribunt**: cf. *Arch.* 26.

35. **quodsi omnium**, etc.: a summing up of the second and third arguments; see *maximum . . . argumentum*, 31 n. — **natura optima**: the ablative of quality. — **serviat**, *seeks to serve.*

16. 36. **natura**: *i.e.* by the light of nature, unaided by philosophy. — **ratione**: see *ratio*, 23 n. — **cuius ignoratio**: equivalent to *ignoratio huius rationis.* — **inferos**, *the lower world.* — **formidines**: the abstract for the concrete, "objects causing fear"; cf. 10. — **tu . . . videbare**: cf. 11. —

videbare. In terram enim cadentibus corporibus iisque humo tectis, e quo dictum est humari, sub terra censebant reliquam vitam agi mortuorum. Quam eorum opinionem magni errores consecuti sunt, quos auxerunt
37 poetae. Frequens enim consessus theatri, in quo sunt mulierculae et pueri, movetur audiens tam grande carmen:

Ádsum atque advenio Ácherunte víx via alta atque árdua
Pér speluncas sáxis structas ásperis, pendéntibus,
Máximis, ubi rígida constat crássa caligo ínferum,

tantumque valuit error, qui mihi quidem iam sublatus videtur, ut, corpora cremata cum scirent, tamen ea fieri apud inferos fingerent quae sine corporibus nec fieri possent nec intellegi. Animos enim per se ipsos viventis non poterant mente complecti, formam aliquam figuramque quaerebant. Inde Homeri tota *νέκυια*, inde ea quae meus amicus Appius *νεκυομαντεῖα* faciebat, inde in vicinia nostra Averni lacus,

in terram . . . cadentibus: referring to death and burial. — **consecuti sunt**, *followed as a consequence, proceeded from*; showing the true relation between **opinionem** and **errores**. — **quos . . . poetae**: cf. 11.

37. **frequens**, *crowded*. — **adsum . . . inferum**: the author of these and the two following verses is unknown. They have been ascribed by some to Ennius and by others to Accius, and have been compared with the beginning of the *Hecuba* of Euripides. The meter is trochaic tetrameter catalectic. **inferum** is genitive plural. — **possent**: the mood and tense are due to attraction; *possunt* might have been used. — **per se**: without a physical body. — **Homeri . . . νέκυια**: referring to Hom. *Od.* XI, in which the story of Ulysses' descent to Hades is told. *νέκυια* is the magical rite by which ghosts were summoned and questioned about the future. — **Appius**: Appius Claudius Pulcher, consul 54 B.C., and a colleague of Cicero in the college of

Vnde animae excitántur obscura úmbra
opertae ex óstio
Áltae Acheruntis, sálso sanguine,

imagines mortuorum. Has tamen imagines loqui volunt, quod fieri nec sine lingua nec sine palato nec sine faucium, laterum, pulmonum vi et figura potest. Nihil enim animo videre poterant, ad oculos omnia referebant. Magni autem est ingenii sevocare mentem 38
a sensibus et cogitationem ab consuetudine abducere. Itaque credo equidem etiam alios tot saeculis, sed, quod litteris exstet, Pherecydes Syrius primum dixit animos esse hominum sempiternos, antiquus sane; fuit enim meo regnante gentili. Hanc opinionem discipulus eius Pythagoras maxime confirmavit; qui cum Superbo regnante in Italiam venisset, tenuit magnam illam Graeciam cum [honore] disciplina, tum etiam auctoritate, multaque saecula postea sic viguit Pythagoreorum nomen ut nulli alii docti viderentur.

augurs, was noted for his superstition and for his pretended communications with departed spirits; cf. *de Div.* I. 132. — **νεκυομαντεῖα**, *oracles of the dead.* — **Averni lacus**: near Cumae in Campania; the fabled entrance to the lower world. — **unde . . . sanguine**: see note on *adsum . . . inferum*, above. — **ex**: see Crit. App. — **altae Acheruntis**: Acheruns is sometimes masculine and sometimes, as here, feminine. — **salso sanguine**: see Crit. App.; the blood of victims sacrificed when spirits were to be called forth from Acheron. — **imagines mortuorum**, *ghosts of the dead*; see Crit. App. — **animo videre . . . ad oculos . . . referebant**: the mental vision distinguished from the physical.

38. **alios**: sc. *dixisse* from the following **dixit**. — **quod . . . exstet**: a relative clause of restriction. — **Pherecydes**: a Greek philosopher of Syros (circ. 600–550 B.C.); said to have been the earliest Greek prose-writer. — **meo . . . gentili**: *i.e.* the reign of Servius Tullius; the assertion of kinship is not to be taken seriously; cf. *Brut.* 62. — **Pythagoras**: see 20. — **Superbo**: L. Tarquinius Superbus, the last of the kings. — **magnam . . . Graeciam**: the territory occupied by Greek colonists in southern Italy was called *Magna Graecia.*

17 Sed redeo ad antiquos. Rationem illi sententiae suae non fere reddebant, nisi quid erat numeris aut descrip-
39 tionibus explicandum. Platonem ferunt, ut Pythagoreos cognosceret, in Italiam venisse et didicisse Pythagorea omnia primumque de animorum aeternitate non solum sensisse idem quod Pythagoram, sed rationem etiam attulisse. Quam, nisi quid dicis, praetermittamus et hanc totam spem immortalitatis relinquamus.

A. An tu cum me in summam exspectationem adduxeris, deseris? Errare mehercule malo cum Platone, quem tu quanti facias scio et quem ex tuo ore admiror, quam cum istis vera sentire.

40 *M.* Macte virtute! ego enim ipse cum eodem isto non invitus erraverim. Num igitur dubitamus? an sicut pleraque? quamquam hoc quidem minime; persuadent enim mathematici terram in medio mundo sitam ad universi caeli complexum quasi puncti instar obtinere, quod κέντρον illi vocant; eam porro naturam esse quattuor omnia gignentium corporum, ut, quasi partita habeant

17. ad antiquos: the early Pythagoreans. — **non fere reddebant**: they contented themselves with saying Αὐτὸς ἔφα. — **quid**, *something*. — **numeris aut descriptionibus**, *by arithmetic or geometry*.

39. in Italiam venisse: Plato visited Italy soon after the death of Socrates (399 B.C.). He made two subsequent visits to the country. — **didicisse**, *studied*. — **an . . . deseris**: see *an*, 10 n. — **ex tuo ore**, *from your lips*, *i.e.* because of your praise of him. — **cum istis**: philosophers who disagree with Plato and deny the immortality of the soul.

40. macte virtute, *bravo! macte* is probably an adverb; see Allen, *Am. Jour. of Philol.* I. 135 ff. — **non invitus**: litotes. — **an . . . pleraque**: referring to the skepticism of the New Academy, doubting almost everything. — **quamquam . . . minime**: sc. *dubitare possumus*. — **terram . . . obtinere**: an example of anacoluthon; after **dubitamus** we should expect *quin terra . . . obtineat*, but the construction is changed after the parenthetical sentence and **terram . . . obtinere** depends upon **persuadent**. — **in medio . . . sitam**: the theory of the ancients. — **puncti instar**, *a sort of point*. — **quattuor . . . corporum**, *the four elements*. — **partita habeant . . .**

inter se ac divisa momenta, terrena et umida suopte nutu et suo pondere ad paris angulos in terram et in mare ferantur, reliquae duae partes, una ignea, altera animalis, ut illae superiores in medium locum mundi gravitate ferantur et pondere, sic hae rursum rectis lineis in caelestem locum subvolent, sive ipsa natura superiora adpetente, sive quod a gravioribus leviora natura repellantur. Quae cum constent, perspicuum debet esse animos, cum e corpore excesserint, sive illi sint animales, id est spirabiles, sive ignei, sublime ferri. Si vero aut numerus quidam est animus, quod subtiliter 41
magis quam dilucide dicitur, aut quinta illa non nominata magis quam non intellecta natura, multo etiam integriora ac puriora sunt, ut a terra longissime se ecferant. Horum igitur aliquid est animus, ne tam vegeta mens aut in corde cerebrove aut in Empedocleo sanguine demersa iaceat.

Dicaearchum vero cum Aristoxeno, aequali et con- 18
discipulo suo, doctos sane homines, omittamus; quorum alter ne condoluisse quidem umquam videtur, qui

divisa: almost equivalent to *partiti sint . . . diviserint*; cf. *Or.* 117 *genus . . . in species . . . partietur ac dividet*, and see A. & G. 292 c, and Woelfflin, *Archiv* II. 405. The exceptional use of *habere* with the perfect participle in classical Latin became the rule in the Romance languages. — **momenta**, *the laws of motion*. — **nutu**, *tendency*. — **ad paris angulos**, *perpendicularly*. — **animalis**: *i.e. aër*; cf. *spirabiles*, below. — **illae**: sc. *terra, aqua*. — **hae**: sc. *duae partes, i.e. ignis, aër*. — **rursum**, *on the contrary*. — **sive . . . adpetente**: the Stoic view. — **sive . . . repellantur**: the view of the atomic philosophers and the Epicureans.

41. numerus . . . animus: cf. *Xenocrates . . . dixit*, 20. — **quinta . . . natura**: see *quintam . . . naturam*, 22 n. — **non nominata**: cf. *vacans nomine*, 22. — **magis . . . intellecta**: Cicero says it was *unnamed rather than not understood*. — **integriora**, *uncontaminated*. — **aliquid est**: see Crit. App. — **corde . . . sanguine**: cf. 19.

18. Dicaearchum: see 21 n. — **Aristoxeno**: see 19 n. — **sane**: with concessive force. — **homines**:

animum se habere non sentiat, alter ita delectatur suis cantibus ut eos etiam ad haec transferre conetur. Harmoniam autem ex intervallis sonorum nosse possumus, quorum varia compositio etiam harmonias efficit pluris; membrorum vero situs et figura corporis vacans animo quam possit harmoniam efficere non video. Sed hic quidem, quamvis eruditus sit, sicut est, haec magistro concedat Aristoteli, canere ipse doceat. Bene enim illo Graecorum proverbio praecipitur:

Quam quísque norit ártem, in hac se exérceat.

42 Illam vero funditus eiciamus individuorum corporum levium et rotundorum concursionem fortuitam, quam tamen Democritus concalefactam et spirabilem, id est animalem, esse volt. Is autem animus, qui si est horum quattuor generum, ex quibus omnia constare dicuntur, ex inflammata anima constat, ut potissimum videri video Panaetio, superiora capessat necesse est. Nihil

an example of synesis, employed as if *Dicaearchum et Aristoxenum* had preceded; cf. *Phil.* 12. 27 *Sulla cum Scipione . . . contulerunt.* — **qui . . . sentiat**: a causal clause. — **ad haec**: *i.e.* to such philosophical discussions as these. — **intervallis**: literally, *spaces between*; referring to the regular recurrence of the sounds (**sonorum**). — **compositio**, *adjustment.* — **haec**: see note on *ad haec*, above. — **canere ipse doceat**: *i.e.* stick to his profession. — **quam . . . exerceat**: an iambic trimeter; cf. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1431 ἔρδοι τις ἣν ἕκαστος εἰδείη τέχνην; and Hor. *Ep.* I. 14. 44 *quam scit uterque libens censebo exerceat artem*; Plin. *H. N.* XXXV. 85 *ne supra crepidam sutor.*

42. eiciamus: a strong expression, probably from the theater, synonymous with *deridere* and *explodere*. — **levium**: see *levibus*, 22 n. — **Democritus**: see 22 n. — **concalefactam et spirabilem**, *composed of fire and air*; referring grammatically to **concursionem**, but logically to **corporum**. — **animalem**: cf. *animales . . . spirabiles*, 40. — **horum . . . generum**: *i.e.* of any one of them. — **inflammata anima**: the Stoic theory; cf. *Zenoni*, 19 n. — **Panaetio**: Panaetius of Rhodes (circ. 180–111 B.C.) in the latter part of his life was the head of the Stoic school in Athens. Cicero's *de Officiis* was modeled after Panaetius' work on *Duty*. — **capessat**: *necesse est* is generally used

enim habent haec duo genera proni et supera semper petunt. Ita, sive dissipantur, procul a terris id evenit, sive permanent et conservant habitum suum, hoc etiam magis necesse est ferantur ad caelum et ab iis perrumpatur et dividatur crassus hic et concretus aër, qui est terrae proximus. Calidior est enim vel potius ardentior animus quam est hic aër, quem modo dixi crassum atque concretum, quod ex eo sciri potest, quia corpora nostra terreno principiorum genere confecta ardore animi concalescunt.

Accedit ut eo facilius animus evadat ex hoc aëre, 19 43
quem saepe iam appello, eumque perrumpat, quod nihil est animo velocius; nulla est celeritas quae possit cum animi celeritate contendere. Qui si permanet incorruptus suique similis, necesse est ita feratur ut penetret et dividat omne caelum hoc, in quo nubes, imbres ventique coguntur, quod et umidum et caliginosum est propter exhalationes terrae. Quam regionem cum superavit animus naturamque sui similem contigit et adgnovit, iunctis ex anima tenui et ex ardore solis temperato ignibus insistit et finem altius se ecferendi facit. Tum

without *ut*; cf. also *ferantur*, below, and *feratur*, 43. — **haec duo genera**: *i.e.* fire and air, *inflammata anima*. — **sive dissipantur . . . sive permanent**: the Stoics varied in their views between these two extremes. Some, among them Panaetius, thought that the soul after death mingled again with the aether, from which element it had come; others that it lasted in the case of the best men until the general destruction of the world by fire. — **principiorum**, *elements*. — **confecta**, *formed, created*. — **ardore . . . concalescunt**, *become warm from the heat of the soul, i.e.* from the breath of life.

19. 43. eo: explained by **quod . . . velocius**. — **nulla . . . contendere**: redundant after **quod . . . velocius**. — **sui similis**, *unmixed*. — **omne caelum hoc**, *all this atmosphere*. — **iunctis . . . ignibus**: the region of the stars, but below the sun as shown by **ardore . . . temperato**. — **anima tenui**, *the aether*. — **se ecferendi**: the more common construction is *sui ecferendi*. — **tum . . . adeptus**: see

enim sui similem et levitatem et calorem adeptus, tamquam paribus examinatus ponderibus nullam in partem movetur, eaque ei demum naturalis est sedes, cum ad sui simile penetravit; in quo nulla re egens aletur et sustentabitur isdem rebus quibus astra sustentantur
44 et aluntur. Cumque corporis facibus inflammari soleamus ad omnis fere cupiditates eoque magis incendi, quod iis aemulemur qui ea habeant quae nos habere cupiamus, profecto beati erimus cum corporibus relictis et cupiditatum et aemulationum erimus expertes; quodque nunc facimus, cum laxati curis sumus, ut spectare aliquid velimus et visere, id multo tum faciemus liberius totosque nos in contemplandis rebus perspiciendisque ponemus, propterea quod et natura inest in mentibus nostris insatiabilis quaedam cupiditas veri videndi et orae ipsae locorum illorum, quo pervenerimus, quo faciliorem nobis cognitionem rerum caelestium, eo maiorem cogno-
45 scendi cupiditatem dabunt. Haec enim pulchritudo etiam in terris 'patritam' illam 'et avitam,' ut ait Theophrastus, philosophiam cognitionis cupiditate incensam

Crit. App. — **tamquam paribus . . . ponderibus,** *as if balanced, i.e. poised in equilibrium.* — **quibus astra . . . aluntur:** cf. *N. D.* II. 118 *sunt autem stellae natura flammeae; quocirca terrae, maris, aquarum vaporibus aluntur iis, qui a sole ex agris tepefactis et ex aquis excitantur, quibus altae renovataeque stellae atque omnis aether refundunt eadem et rursum trahunt indidem.*

44. **corporis facibus:** *i.e. corporis incitamentis.* — **quod iis aemulemur,** *because we envy those;* with the accusative *aemulari* means *to rival* in a good sense. — **ut . . . velimus:** the clause is in apposition with **quod** in **quodque . . . facimus.** — **visere:** the intensive of *videre.* — **totosque . . . ponemus,** *and shall devote ourselves wholly to.* — **orae . . . locorum:** about equivalent to *regiones, regions.*

45. **haec . . . pulchritudo:** *i.e. harum (caelestium) rerum pulchritudo.* — **patritam . . . philosophiam:** referring to Thales and the early Ionian philosophers who sought to explain the origin of the universe. On **patritam,** see Crit. App. — **Theophrastus:** Theophrastus of Eresus in Lesbos was

excitavit. Praecipue vero fruentur ea, qui tum etiam, cum has terras incolentes circumfusi erant caligine, tamen acie mentis dispicere cupiebant.

Etenim si nunc aliquid adsequi se putant qui ostium **20** Ponti viderunt et eas angustias per quas penetravit ea quae est nominata

Argó, quia Argivi ín ea delectí vïri
Vectí petebant péllem inauratam árietis,

aut ii qui Oceani freta illa viderunt,

Europam Libyamque rapax ubi dividit unda,

quod tandem spectaculum fore putamus, cum totam terram contueri licebit eiusque cum situm, formam, circumscriptionem, tum et habitabiles regiones et rursum omni cultu propter vim frigoris aut caloris vacantis? Nos enim ne nunc quidem oculis cernimus ea **46** quae videmus; neque est enim ullus sensus in corpore, sed, ut non physici solum docent, verum etiam medici, qui ista aperta et patefacta viderunt, viae quasi

the pupil of Plato and Aristotle, the latter of whom he succeeded as head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy. His death occurred 287 B.C. — **cupiditate incensam**: logically this would apply to philosophers rather than to philosophy. — **ea**: sc. *philosophia*. — **acie . . . dispicere**, *with the mental vision to pierce the darkness*.

20. aliquid, *something worth while; i.e.* a more extended knowledge of the earth. — **ostium Ponti . . . angustias**: the Thracian Bosporus and the Hellespont. — **ea**: sc. *navis*. — **Argo . . . arietis**: from the *Medea Exsul* of Ennius, based upon the *Medea* of Euripides. The verses are iambic trimeters. — **illa**: see 34 n. — **Europam . . . unda**: the verse is probably from the *Annales* of Ennius. The reference is to the *fretum Gaditanum* (the Straits of Gibraltar). The line is also quoted in *N. D.* III. 24. — **contueri**, *to survey*. — **habitabiles . . . vacantis**: cf. *Som. Scip.* 13.

46. **nunc**: *i.e.* while we are in the body. — **oculis**: by the physical eye alone; cf. *viae . . . ad oculos . . . animi perforatae*, below. — **ista . . . viderunt**: referring to the study of the organs of sense in the dissection of the body. — **viae . . . perforatae**: cf. *N. D.*

quaedam sunt ad oculos, ad auris, ad naris a sede animi perforatae. Itaque saepe aut cogitatione aut aliqua vi morbi impediti apertis atque integris et oculis et auribus nec videmus nec audimus, ut facile intellegi possit animum et videre et audire, non eas partis quae quasi fenestrae sint animi, quibus tamen sentire nihil queat mens, nisi id agat et adsit. Quid, quod eadem mente res dissimillimas comprendimus, ut colorem, saporem, calorem, odorem, sonum? quae numquam quinque nuntiis animus cognosceret, nisi ad eum omnia referrentur et is omnium iudex solus esset. Atque ea profecto tum multo puriora et dilucidiora cernentur, cum, quo natura
47 fert, liber animus pervenerit. Nam nunc quidem, quamquam foramina illa quae patent ad animum a corpore callidissimo artificio natura fabricata est, tamen terrenis concretisque corporibus sunt intersaepta quodam modo; cum autem nihil erit praeter animum, nulla res obiecta
21 impediet quo minus percipiat quale quidque sit. Quamvis copiose haec diceremus, si res postularet, quam multa, quam varia, quanta spectacula animus in locis
48 caelestibus esset habiturus. Quae quidem cogitans soleo saepe mirari non nullorum insolentiam philosophorum,

III. 9 *cum rerum natura . . . duo lumina ab animo ad oculos perforata nos habere voluisset;* and Plin. *H. N.* XI. 146 *animo videmus, animo cernimus; oculi, ceu vasa quaedam, visibilem eius (umoris) partem accipiunt et transmittunt.* The reference is in reality to arteries and not to nerves. — **cogitatione,** *deep meditation.* — **integris,** *uninjured.* — **nisi . . . agat et adsit,** *unless it is absorbed therein and present.* — **quinque nuntiis,** *through the five senses (messengers).*

47. **terrenis . . . corporibus:** *i.e.* dust, etc. — **sunt intersaepta,** *are blocked.* — **cum autem . . . sit:** cf. *de Sen.* 80 *sed cum omni admixtione corporis liberatus purus et integer esse coepisset, tum (animum) esse sapientem; Som. Scip.* 6 *ii vivunt, qui e corporum vinculis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt.*

21. **quamvis copiose:** *i.e. tam copiose quam vis;* equivalent to *vel copiosissime.*

48. **non nullorum . . . philosophorum:** the Epicureans. —

qui naturae cognitionem admirantur eiusque inventori et principi gratias exsultantes agunt eumque venerantur ut deum; liberatos enim se per eum dicunt gravissimis dominis, terrore sempiterno et diurno ac nocturno metu. Quo terrore? quo metu? quae est anus tam delira quae timeat ista, quae vos videlicet, si physica non didicissetis, timeretis, 'Acherunsia templa alta Orci, pallida leti, obnubila tenebris loca'? Non pudet philosophum in eo gloriari, quod haec non timeat et quod falsa esse cognoverit? E quo intellegi potest quam acuti natura sint, quoniam haec sine doctrina crediturí fuerunt. Praeclarum autem nescio quid adepti sunt, 49
quod didicerunt se, cum tempus mortis venisset, totos esse perituros. Quod ut ita sit (nihil enim pugno), quid habet ista res aut laetabile aut gloriosum? Nec tamen mihi sane quicquam occurrit cur non Pythagorae sit et Platonis vera sententia. Vt enim rationem Plato nullam adferret (vide quid homini tribuam), ipsa auctoritate me

inventori et principi: Epicurus; for this expression cf. also *Acad.* II. 131 (*Zeno*) *inventor et princeps Stoicorum fuit.* — **eumque . . . ut deum**: cf. Lucret. V. 8–10

deus ille fuit, deus, inclyte Memmi,
Qui princeps vitae rationem invenit eam quae
Nunc appellatur sapientia.

— **liberatos . . . metu**: so Lucretius in his *de Rerum Natura* attempted by the aid of Epicurus' philosophy to free men's minds from fear of the gods and the fear of death. — **quae . . . anus . . . delira**, *what superstitious old woman is so weak.* — **Acherunsia . . . loca**: supposed to be from the *Andromache* of Ennius, but not quoted in rhythmical form. — **templa**, *regions;* the primitive meaning of *templum* was not a building, but merely a place for observation marked out (τέμνω) by the augur with his staff. — **leti**: genitive of specification with **pallida**; see Lane 1270; cf. Hor. *Carm.* I. 22. 1 *integer vitae.* — **sine doctrina** is equivalent to a condition contrary to fact; **crediturí fuerunt** is used instead of *credidissent;* see A. & G. 308 d.

49. **praeclarum**: ironical. — **ut**: concessive; so in **ut enim**, below. — **nihil . . . pugno**: *i.e.* Cicero will not discuss the question here. — **Pythagorae . . . Platonis . . . sententia**: *i.e.* that the soul is immortal. — **auctoritate . . . frangeret**: cf. *errare*

frangeret; tot autem rationes attulit ut velle ceteris, sibi certe persuasisse videatur.

22 50 Sed plurimi contra nituntur animosque quasi capite damnatos morte multant, neque aliud est quicquam cur incredibilis iis animorum videatur aeternitas, nisi quod nequeunt qualis animus sit vacans corpore intellegere et cogitatione comprehendere. Quasi vero intellegant qualis sit in ipso corpore, quae conformatio, quae magnitudo, qui locus, aut, si iam possent in homine vivo cerni omnia quae nunc tecta sunt, casurusne in conspectum videatur animus, an tanta sit eius tenuitas ut 51 fugiat aciem! Haec reputent isti qui negant animum sine corpore se intellegere posse; videbunt quem in ipso corpore intellegant. Mihi quidem naturam animi intuenti multo difficilior occurrit cogitatio, multo obscurior, qualis animus in corpore sit tamquam alienae domui quam qualis, cum exierit et in liberum caelum quasi domum suam venerit. Nisi enim, quod numquam vidimus, id quale sit intellegere non possumus, certe et

. . . *sentire*, 39. — **velle ceteris**: sc. *persuadere* from the following **persuasisse**. — **videatur**: equivalent to *appareat*.

22. 50. contra: *i.e.* in opposition to the belief of Plato and others in the immortality of the soul. — **quasi . . . damnatos**, *as if condemned for a capital offense*; borrowed from legal phraseology. — **aliud . . . quicquam**, *any other reason*. — **intellegere . . . comprehendere**: an illustration of Cicero's fondness for two or more words of kindred meaning to round out an expression; cf. *domesticas ac familiaris*, 2. — **quasi . . . intellegant**: ironical; *quasi* (*quasi vero*) is especially used when one states what is not the case, either in derision or to correct a false impression. — **qualis sit**: sc. *animus*. — **quae conformatio . . . locus**: sc. *animi*. — **aut**: see Crit. App. — **casurusne . . . aciem**: the second member of the double question states what is actually the case.

51. reputent . . . videbunt: with this construction cf. *tolle . . . sustuleris*, 30. — **isti**: implying contempt. — **quem . . . intellegant**: sc. *animum*; *i.e.* how little they know about the soul. — **alienae domui**: for this locative form, see A. & G. 70 g. — **quasi . . . suam**: cf. *in caelum . . . suum*,

deum ipsum et divinum animum corpore liberatum cogitatione complecti possumus. Dicaearchus quidem et Aristoxenus, quia difficilis erat animi, quid aut qualis esset, intellegentia, nullum omnino animum esse dixerunt. Est illud quidem vel maximum animo ipso animum videre, 52
et nimirum hanc habet vim praeceptum Apollinis quo monet ut se quisque noscat. Non enim, credo, id praecipit ut membra nostra aut staturam figuramve noscamus; neque nos corpora sumus, nec ego tibi haec dicens corpori tuo dico. Cum igitur 'Nosce te' dicit, hoc dicit: 'Nosce animum tuum.' Nam corpus quidem quasi vas est aut aliquod animi receptaculum; ab animo tuo quicquid agitur, id agitur a te. Hunc igitur nosse nisi divinum esset, non esset hoc acrioris cuiusdam animi praeceptum tributum deo.

Sed si qualis sit animus ipse animus nesciet, dic, 53
quaeso, ne esse quidem se sciet, ne moveri quidem se? Ex quo illa ratio nata est Platonis, quae a Socrate est in Phaedro explicata, a me autem posita est in sexto libro de re publica: 'Quod semper movetur, aeternum est; 23
quod autem motum adfert alicui, quodque ipsum agitatur aliunde, quando finem habet motus, vivendi finem habeat

24. — **divinum animum**: cf. *de Sen.* 77 *est enim animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus et quasi demersus in terram, locum divinae naturae aeternitatique contrarium.* — **Dicaearchus . . . Aristoxenus**: see 41 n.

52. **maximum**: in the sense of *difficillimum.* — **vim**, *meaning.* — **ut . . . noscat**: the words Γνῶθι σεαυτόν were inscribed over the entrance to the temple of Delphi. — **neque . . . sumus**: cf. *Som. Scip.* 18 *mens cuiusque is est quisque, non ea figura quae digito demonstrari potest.* — **hunc**: sc. *animum.* — **divinum**: predicate adjective. — **acrioris . . . animi**: the saying was attributed to one of the seven wise men, to Chilon of Lacedaemon, and also to Thales of Miletus. — **deo**: see Crit. App.

53. **ratio**, *argument.* — **in Phaedro**: p. 245 c. — **sexto . . . publica**: *i.e.* in *Som. Scip.* 18–20.

23. quod autem . . . quodque: referring to the same object. — **quando**, *whenever.* — **numquam**

necesse est. Solum igitur, quod se ipsum movet, quia numquam deseritur a se, numquam ne moveri quidem desinit; quin etiam ceteris, quae moventur, hic fons,
54 hoc principium est movendi. Principii autem nulla est origo; nam e principio oriuntur omnia, ipsum autem nulla ex re alia nasci potest; nec enim esset id principium quod gigneretur aliunde; quod si numquam oritur, ne occidit quidem umquam; nam principium exstinctum nec ipsum ab alio renascetur nec ex se aliud creabit, siquidem necesse est a principio oriri omnia. Ita fit, ut motus principium ex eo sit quod ipsum a se movetur; id autem nec nasci potest nec mori, vel concidat omne caelum omnisque natura et consistat necesse est nec vim ullam nanciscatur qua a primo impulsa moveatur. Cum pateat igitur aeternum id esse quod se ipsum moveat, quis est qui hanc naturam animis esse tributam neget? Inanimum est enim omne quod pulsu agitatur externo; quod autem est animal, id motu cietur interiore et suo. Nam haec est propria natura animi atque vis; quae si est una ex omnibus, quae se ipsa [semper]
55 moveat, neque nata certe est et aeterna est.' Licet concurrant omnes plebeii philosophi (sic enim ii qui a Platone et Socrate et ab ea familia dissident appellandi

ne . . . quidem: the general negative is here strengthened and not neutralized by *ne . . . quidem*; see A. & G. 209 a. 1. — **movendi**, *of motion.*

54. **oritur . . . occidit**, *begins . . . ends.* — **exstinctum**: with conditional force, *if destroyed.* — **siquidem**, *since.* — **vel**, *or else.* — **a primo**: *i.e. a principio, from the beginning.* — **cum pateat**, *since it is evident.* — **hanc naturam**: *i.e.* self-activity. — **animal**, *endowed with life*; contrasted with **inanimum**. — **vis**, *power* or *property.* — **una ex omnibus**, *the only one of all, i.e. the only thing in the world.* — **neque . . . et**: see 7 n.

55. **plebeii philosophi**: the Epicureans; cf. *de Sen.* 85 *quidam minuti philosophi.* — **familia**, *school*; cf. *domus*, *Acad.* I. 13; *grex*, *de Or.* I. 42; *lar*, Hor. *Ep.* I.

videntur), non modo nihil umquam tam eleganter explicabunt, sed ne hoc quidem ipsum quam subtiliter conclusum sit intellegent. Sentit igitur animus se moveri; quod cum sentit, illud una sentit, se vi sua, non aliena moveri, nec accidere posse ut ipse umquam a se deseratur. Ex quo efficitur aeternitas, nisi quid habes ad haec.

A. Ego vero facile sum passus ne in mentem quidem mihi aliquid contra venire; ita isti faveo sententiae.

M. Quid? illa tandem num leviora censes, quae declarant inesse in animis hominum divina quaedam? quae si cernerem quem ad modum nasci possent, etiam quem ad modum interirent viderem. Nam sanguinem, bilem, pituitam, ossa, nervos, venas, omnem denique membrorum et totius corporis figuram videor posse dicere unde concreta et quo modo facta sint; animum ipsum —, si nihil esset in eo nisi id ut per eum viveremus, tam natura putarem hominis vitam sustentari quam vitis, quam arboris; haec enim etiam dicimus vivere. Item 24 56

1. 13. — **eleganter**: referring to *elegance* of expression; while **subtiliter conclusum** refers to the logical force of the argument. — **efficitur**, *is proved.* — **quid habes**: sc. *quod dicas.* — **ad haec**: see *ad id*, 7 n. With the argument cf. *de Sen.* 78 *cumque semper agitetur animus nec principium motus habeat quia se ipse moveat, ne finem quidem habiturum esse motus quia numquam se ipse sit relicturus;* and Quint. V. 14. 10 *anima immortalis est. Nam quidquid ex se ipso movetur, immortale est; anima autem ex se ipsa movetur, immortalis igitur est anima.*

24. 56. divina quaedam, *certain divine characteristics;* referring to **memoriam**, 57; **inventio . . . excogitatio**, 61. — **quae si**: the antecedent of **quae** is **illa**. — **sanguinem . . . sint**: often in comedy and in colloquial style in general the subject of an indirect question is made the object of the leading clause; this usage is rare in good prose; see A. & G. 334 c. — **animum ipsum**: an example of anacoluthon; as it stands **animum** is without construction; the accusative is probably a continuation of the accusative of anticipation (**sanguinem, bilem**, etc.) in the preceding sentence. — **per eum viveremus**: *i.e.* if it were merely the life-principle. — **natura**, *by force of nature.* — **haec enim**:

si nihil haberet animus hominis, nisi ut appeteret aut fugeret, id quoque esset ei commune cum bestiis.
57 Habet primum memoriam, et eam infinitam rerum innumerabilium, quam quidem Plato recordationem esse volt vitae superioris. Nam in illo libro, qui inscribitur Menon, pusionem quendam Socrates interrogat quaedam geometrica de dimensione quadrati. Ad ea sic ille respondet, ut puer, et tamen ita faciles interrogationes sunt ut gradatim respondens eodem perveniat quo si geometrica didicisset. Ex quo effici volt Socrates ut discere nihil aliud sit nisi recordari. Quem locum multo etiam accuratius explicat in eo sermone quem habuit eo ipso die quo excessit e vita; docet enim quemvis, qui omnium rerum rudis esse videatur, bene interroganti respondentem declarare se non tum illa discere, sed reminiscendo recognoscere, nec vero fieri ullo modo posse ut a pueris tot rerum atque tantarum insitas et quasi consignatas in animis notiones, quas ἐννοίας vocant, haberemus, nisi animus, ante quam in corpus intravisset,
68 in rerum cognitione viguisset. Cumque nihil esset, ut omnibus locis a Platone disseritur (nihil enim ille putat esse quod oriatur et intereat, idque solum esse quod semper tale sit quale est; ἰδέαν appellat ille, nos

we should expect *has enim*; the neuter makes the expression general, *things of this kind*. — **nisi . . . fugeret**: *i.e.* mere animal instinct.

57. **primum**: to this corresponds **quid?** **illa vis**, 61. — **esse volt**, *interprets* (*explains*) *as*. — **in . . . libro . . . Menon**: Μένων, ἢ περὶ ἀρετῆς, p. 82. — **quaedam geometrica**, *some questions in geometry*. — **quo**: sc. *pervenisset*. — **in . . . sermone**: in the *Phaedo* p. 72 e. — **declarare**, *shows*. — **consignatas**, *recorded, registered*. — **ἐννοίας**: by this Cicero means the *innate ideas* of Plato, but the term was used by the Stoics in reference to *ideas* of external objects obtained through the senses. Plato's *innate ideas* were recollections from a former existence.

58. **nihil esset**, *nothing had a real existence*. — **quod semper**

speciem), non potuit animus haec in corpore inclusus adgnoscere, cognita attulit; ex quo tam multarum rerum cognitionis admiratio tollitur. Neque ea plane videt animus, cum repente in tam insolitum tamque perturbatum domicilium inmigravit, sed, cum se collegit atque recreavit, tum adgnoscit illa reminiscendo. Ita nihil est aliud discere nisi recordari. Ego autem maiore etiam 59
quodam modo memoriam admiror. Quid est enim illud quo meminimus, aut quam habet vim aut unde natam? Non quaero quanta memoria Simonides fuisse dicatur, quanta Theodectes, quanta is, qui a Pyrrho legatus ad senatum est missus, Cineas, quanta nuper Charmadas, quanta, qui modo fuit, Scepsius Metrodorus, quanta noster Hortensius; de communi hominum memoria

. . . est: forever unchangeable. — **ἰδέαν**: cf. *Acad.* I. 30 *mentem volebant esse rerum iudicem; solam censebant idoneam cui crederetur, quia sola cerneret id quod semper esset simplex et unius modi et tale quale esset. Hanc illi ἰδέαν appellant, iam a Platone ita nominatam; nos recte speciem possumus dicere.* Plato held that the ideal alone has a real existence; objects of sense are fleeting and only copies of the ideal. True knowledge is simply a recollection of what the soul learned in its former state. — **haec . . . cognita**: for the neuter plural referring to *ἰδέαν*, see *haec enim*, 56 n. **cognita** refers to the ideals familiar to the soul in its former existence. — **neque**: equivalent to *nec tamen*. — **ita . . . nisi recordari**: cf. *de Sen.* 78.

59. memoriam: in the ordinary sense of the word and so distinguished from **memoriam . . . infinitam**, 57. — **Simonides**: Simonides of Ceos (556–467 B.C.), a famous lyric poet, is said to have been the inventor of the mnemonic art; see Plin. *H. N.* VII. 89; Quint. XI. 2. 11. sqq. — **Theodectes**: Theodectes, a rhetorician and tragic poet of Phaselis in Lycia, flourished about 350 B.C. Quintilian (XI. 2. 51) speaks of his remarkable memory. — **Cineas**: Cineas of Thessalia, famous as statesman and orator, was sent to Rome as an envoy by king Pyrrhus after the battle of Heraclea, 280 B.C.; see Sen. *Contr.* I. *pr.* 19. — **Charmadas**: Charmadas, a rhetorician and philosopher of the Academic school, flourished about 110 B.C.; see *de Or.* II. 360. — **Metrodorus**: Metrodorus of Scepsis in Mysia, a philosopher and statesman in the service of king Mithridates; see *de Or.* II. 360. — **Hortensius**: Q. Hortensius (114–50 B.C.) was Cicero's rival in oratory. For his wonderful memory, cf. *Brut.* 301; Sen. *Contr.* I. *pr.* 19.

loquor, et eorum maxime qui in aliquo maiore studio et arte versantur; quorum quanta mens sit difficile est existimare; ita multa meminerunt.

25 60 Quorsus igitur haec spectat oratio? Quae sit illa vis et unde sit intellegendum puto. Non est certe nec cordis nec sanguinis nec cerebri nec atomorum; animae sit ignisne nescio, nec me pudet, ut istos, fateri nescire quod nesciam; illud, si ulla alia de re obscura adfirmare possem, sive anima sive ignis sit animus, eum iurarem esse divinum. Quid enim? obsecro te, terrane tibi hoc nebuloso et caliginoso caelo aut sata aut concreta videtur tanta vis memoriae? Si quid sit hoc non vides, at quale sit vides; si ne id quidem, at quantum sit pro- 61 fecto vides. Quid igitur? utrum capacitatem aliquam in animo putamus esse, quo tamquam in aliquod vas ea, quae meminimus, infundantur? Absurdum id quidem. Qui enim fundus aut quae talis animi figura intellegi potest aut quae tanta omnino capacitas? An imprimi quasi ceram animum putamus, et esse memoriam signatarum rerum in mente vestigia? Quae possunt verborum, quae rerum ipsarum esse vestigia, quae porro tam

25. 60. quorsus . . . oratio: with this question Cicero returns to the discussion of the main topic. — **illa vis:** referring to the soul, *animus*. — **non . . . nec . . . nec,** etc.: the general negative **non** is subdivided by **nec . . . nec,** etc.; see 53 n. — **ut istos:** *i.e.* those who claim to know the origin and nature of the soul. The Stoics had definite opinions on the subject, but the Academics were skeptical. — **nescire:** sc. *me*. — **illud:** explained by **eum esse divinum.** — **adfirmare:** for the use of this term by the Academics, cf. *Acad.* II. 8 *nos probabilia multa habemus quae sequi facile, adfirmare vix possumus.* — **terra:** in the ablative depending upon **sata** (*sprung from*) . . . **concreta** (*composed of*). — **caelo:** see *omne caelum*, 43 n. — **quid . . . hoc:** *i.e.* memory.

61. quid igitur: a formula used in argument to imply a negative answer; cf. *quid enim*, 60. — **absurdum . . . quidem;** cf. *superbum . . . est*, 17. — **imprimi . . . animum:** the Stoics held

immensa magnitudo quae illa tam multa possit effingere? Quid? illa vis quae tandem est, quae investigat occulta, quae inventio atque excogitatio dicitur? Ex hacne tibi 62 terrena mortalique natura et caduca concreta ea videtur, aut qui primus, quod summae sapientiae Pythagorae visum est, omnibus rebus imposuit nomina, aut qui dissipatos homines congregavit et ad societatem vitae convocavit, aut qui sonos vocis, qui infiniti videbantur, paucis litterarum notis terminavit, aut qui errantium stellarum cursus, praegressiones, institiones notavit? Omnes magni, etiam superiores, qui fruges, qui vestitum, qui tecta, qui cultum vitae, qui praesidia contra feras invenerunt, a quibus mansuefacti et exculti a necessariis artificiis ad elegantiora defluximus. Nam et auribus oblectatio magna parta est inventa et temperata varietate et natura sonorum, et astra suspeximus cum ea, quae sunt infixa certis locis, tum illa non re, sed vocabulo errantia; quorum conversiones omnisque motus qui animo vidit, is docuit similem animum suum eius

that at birth the soul is a *tabula rasa* and that all knowledge comes from the perception of objects. This perception, according to Cleanthes, results from impressions made upon the soul by external objects. The theory of Chrysippus differs somewhat from this. He held that there was a change in the soul instead of an impression upon it. — **magnitudo**: sc. *memoriae*. — **effingere**: *i.e. efficta continere*.

62. **aut qui**: after **aut** sc. *tibine ex hac terrena mortalique natura et caduca concretus animus videtur eius* (**qui**, etc.). — **imposuit nomina**: Plato and the Stoics held that names were given φύσει (*naturally*) and not θέσει (*arbitrarily*); cf. Gell. X. 4. 1–3 *nomina verbaque non positu fortuito, sed quadam vi et ratione naturae, facta esse P. Nigidius in grammaticis commentariis docet, rem sane in philosophiae disceptationibus celebrem. Quaeri enim solitum apud philosophos* φύσει τὰ ὀνόματα *sint* ἢ θέσει. *In eam rem multa argumenta dicit cur videri possint verba esse naturalia magis quam arbitraria*. — **qui dissipatos . . . convocavit**: cf. *Som. Scip.* 5. — **qui errantium . . . notavit**: cf. *N. D.* II. 51, 103. — **superiores**: referring to men of still earlier times. — **ad elegantiora defluximus**, *we have passed gradually to more refined arts*. — **errantia**, *the planets*. — **docuit**, *has proved*.

63 esse, qui ea fabricatus esset in caelo. Nam cum Archimedes lunae, solis, quinque errantium motus in sphaeram inligavit, effecit idem quod ille, qui in Timaeo mundum aedificavit, Platonis deus, ut tarditate et celeritate dissimillimos motus una regeret conversio. Quod si in hoc mundo fieri sine deo non potest, ne in sphaera quidem eosdem motus Archimedes sine divino ingenio potuisset imitari.

26 64 Mihi vero ne haec quidem notiora et inlustriora carere vi divina videntur, ut ego aut poetam grave plenumque carmen sine caelesti aliquo mentis instinctu putem fundere, aut eloquentiam sine maiore quadam vi fluere abundantem sonantibus verbis uberibusque sententiis. Philosophia vero, omnium mater artium, quid est aliud nisi, ut Plato, donum, ut ego, inventum deorum? Haec nos primum ad illorum cultum, deinde ad ius hominum, quod situm est in generis humani societate, tum ad

63. Archimedes: Archimedes of Syracuse (287–212 B.C.), the famous mathematician and inventor, constructed a *planetarium;* cf. *Rep.* I. 22. — **quinque errantium:** Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn. — **in Timaeo:** p. 39.

26. 64. haec . . . inlustriora: referring to poetry, eloquence, and philosophy. — **grave,** *dignified;* having weight and force. — **plenum,** *rhythmical, full-toned.* — **sine . . . instinctu:** cf. *Arch.* 18 *poetam natura ipsa valere et mentis viribus excitari, et quasi divino quodam spiritu inflari.* — **fundere:** often used of the utterance of poets; cf. 107; *N. D.* I. 42; *de Fin.* IV. 10; Lucret. V. 110. — **eloquentiam . . . vi:** cf. Tac. *Or.* 8. 3 *ipsa eloquentia, cuius numen et caelestis vis.* — **philosophia . . . mater artium:** cf. II. 13 *cultura autem animi philosophia est;* III. 6 *est profecto animi medicina, philosophia;* V. 5 *o vitae philosophia dux . . . tu inventrix legum, tu magistra morum et disciplinae fuisti; Brut.* 322 *philosophiam . . . matrem omnium bene factorum beneque dictorum; de Or.* I. 9 *neque enim te fugit omnium laudatarum artium procreatricem quandam et quasi parentem eam, quam φιλοσοφίαν Graeci vocant, ab hominibus doctissimis iudicari.* — **ut Plato:** sc. *Timaeus* p. 47 b. — **cultum,** *worship.* — **ius hominum . . . videremus:** in this passage Cicero refers to the four cardinal virtues of the Stoics, which he discussed afterwards in the *de Officiis;* **ius hominum** corresponds to *iustitia* (cf. *de Off.* I.

modestiam magnitudinemque animi erudivit, eademque ab animo tamquam ab oculis caliginem dispulit ut omnia supera infera, prima ultima media videremus. Prorsus 65 haec divina mihi videtur vis, quae tot res efficiat et tantas. Quid est enim memoria rerum et verborum? quid porro inventio? Profecto id quo ne in deo quidem quicquam maius intellegi potest. Non enim ambrosia deos aut nectare aut Iuventate pocula ministrante laetari arbitror, nec Homerum audio qui Ganymeden ab dis raptum ait propter formam, ut Iovi bibere ministraret, non iusta causa cur Laomedonti tanta fieret iniuria. Fingebat haec Homerus et humana ad deos transferebat; divina mallem ad nos. Quae autem divina? Vigere, sapere, invenire, meminisse. Ergo animus, ut ego dico, divinus est, ut Euripides dicere audet, deus, et quidem, si deus aut anima aut ignis est, idem est animus hominis. Nam ut illa natura caelestis et terra vacat et umore, sic utriusque harum rerum humanus animus est expers. Sin autem est quinta quaedam

20); **modestia** to *temperantia;* **magnitudo animi** to *fortitudo;* and **eademque . . . videremus** to *sapientia.* — **eademque**: **-que**, *and in short;* see Lane 2146. — **supera . . . media**: note the asyndeton.

65. **ne . . . quidem**: see Crit. App. — **Iuventate**: Iuventas (Greek Hebe), the goddess of youth, was the daughter of Jupiter and Juno and cupbearer to the gods. — **qui Ganymeden . . . ait**: *Il.* XX. 232–235. Ganymedes (according to Homer the son of Tros, but according to other traditions, which Cicero here follows, the son of Laomedon) was taken up to heaven from Mt. Ida by an eagle and made Jupiter's cupbearer. — **bibere ministraret**: the infinitive (**bibere**) is sometimes used after *habeo, do,* and *ministro,* instead of a subjunctive clause; see A. & G. 273 a; Lane 2164 (c). — **Laomedonti**: Laomedon, king of Troy and father of Priam. Euripides (*Troad.* 822) called him the father of Ganymedes, as Cicero here. — **mallem ad nos**: sc. *transtulisset.* — **Euripides dicere**, etc.: fragment of Eurip. ὁ νοῦς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐστιν ἐν ἑκάστῳ θεός; cf. *Som. Scip.* 18 *deum te igitur scito esse, si quidem,* etc.; see *Euripides,* 115 n. — **quinta**

natura, ab Aristotele inducta primum, haec et deorum est et animorum. Hanc nos sententiam secuti his ipsis verbis in Consolatione [hoc] expressimus:

27 66 'Animorum nulla in terris origo inveniri potest. Nihil enim est in animis mixtum atque concretum, aut quod ex terra natum atque fictum esse videatur, nihil ne aut umidum quidem aut flabile aut igneum. His enim in naturis nihil inest quod vim memoriae, mentis, cogitationis habeat, quod et praeterita teneat et futura provideat et complecti possit praesentia, quae sola divina sunt, nec invenietur umquam unde ad hominem venire possint nisi a deo. Singularis est igitur quaedam natura atque vis animi seiuncta ab his usitatis notisque naturis. Ita, quicquid est illud quod sentit, quod sapit, quod vivit, quod viget, caeleste et divinum ob eamque rem aeternum sit necesse est. Nec vero deus ipse, qui intellegitur a nobis, alio modo intellegi potest nisi mens soluta quaedam et libera, segregata ab omni concretione mortali, omnia sentiens et movens ipsaque praedita motu
37 sempiterno.' Hoc e genere atque eadem e natura est humana mens. — Vbi igitur aut qualis est ista mens? — Vbi tua aut qualis? potesne dicere? an, si omnia ad

. . . **natura**: see *quintam . . . naturam*, 22 n. — **Consolatione**: after the death of his daughter Tullia, 45 B.C., Cicero wrote the *De Consolatione* (now lost).

27. 66. in terris: note the attributive force of the phrase, standing between adjective and substantive. — **nihil ne . . . quidem**: see 53 n. — **flabile**, *airy;* Cicero generally uses *spirabile*. — **sola divina**: **sola** is to be taken with **divina** and not with **quae**; according to the more common usage we should expect the adverb *solum* with the predicate. — **usitatis . . . naturis**: *i.e.* the four elements. — **qui . . . nobis**, *so far as he is understood by us*. — **ab omni . . . mortali**, *from every perishable element*. — **movens . . . sempiterno**: cf. 54.

67. **ubi igitur**: the question of a supposed opponent, introduced for rhetorical effect and answered by the questions following, **ubi tua . . . licebit?** — **potesne**: **-ne**, though appended to the

intellegendum non habeo quae habere vellem, ne iis quidem, quae habeo, mihi per te uti licebit? — Non valet tantum animus ut se ipse videat. — At ut oculus, sic animus se non videns alia cernit. — Non videt autem, quod minimum est, formam suam. — Quamquam fortasse id quoque; sed relinquamus; vim certe, sagacitatem, memoriam, motum, celeritatem videt. Haec magna, haec divina, haec sempiterna sunt. Qua facie quidem sit aut ubi habitet ne quaerendum quidem est.

Vt cum videmus speciem primum candoremque caeli, 28 68
dein conversionis celeritatem tantam quantam cogitare non possumus, tum vicissitudines dierum ac noctium commutationesque temporum quadrupertitas ad maturitatem frugum et ad temperationem corporum aptas eorumque omnium moderatorem et ducem solem, lunamque accretione et deminutione luminis quasi fastorum notantem et significantem dies, tum in eodem orbe in duodecim partes distributo quinque stellas ferri eosdem cursus constantissime servantis disparibus inter se motibus nocturnamque caeli formam undique sideribus ornatam, tum globum terrae eminentem e mari, fixum in medio

principal verb, is not here equivalent to *nonne*. — **non valet**: another supposed objection; cf. also **non videt**, below. — **quod minimum est**, *a fact of the least importance*. — **quamquam . . . quoque**: sc. *fieri potest*. — **haec, haec, haec**: the repetition gives increased emphasis to the statement. — **quidem**, *but*.

28. 68. ut: the correlative is **sic**, 70. — **primum**: the series is continued by **dein . . . tum . . . tum**, etc. — **temporum**, *the seasons*. — **maturitatem**, *the ripening*. — **temperationem corporum**: cf. IV. 30 *corporis temperatio, cum ea congruunt inter se e quibus constamus, sanitas . . . dicitur*. — **quasi . . . dies**: **quasi** modifies **notantem et significantem**; **fastorum** depends upon **dies**, *the days of the calendar;* thus the moon is likened to a person who arranges the calendar. — **in eodem orbe**: the zodiac with the twelve constellations. — **quinque stellas**: see *quinque errantium*, 63 n. — **fixum in . . . loco**: see *in medio . . . sitam*, 40 n. —

mundi universi loco, duabus oris distantibus habitabilem et cultum, quarum altera, quam nos incolimus,

Sub áxe posita ad stéllas septem, unde hórrifer
Aquilónis stridor gélidas molitúr nives,

altera australis, ignota nobis, quam vocant Graeci
69 *ἀντίχθονα*, ceteras partis incultas quod aut frigore rigeant aut urantur calore; hic autem, ubi habitamus, non intermittit suo tempore

Caelúm nitescere, árbores frondéscere,
Vités laetificae pámpinis pubéscere,
Ramí bacarum ubértate incurvéscere,
Segetés largiri frúges, florere ómnia,
Fontés scatere, herbis práta convestírier,

tum multitudinem pecudum partim ad vescendum, partim ad cultus agrorum, partim ad vehendum, partim ad corpora vestienda, hominemque ipsum quasi contemplatorem caeli ac deorum cultorem atque hominis utilitati agros
70 omnis et maria parentia —: haec igitur et alia innumerabilia cum cernimus, possumusne dubitare quin iis praesit

duabus oris . . . cultum: cf. *habitabiles regiones*, 45 n. — **sub axe . . . nives**: from the *Philoctetes* of Accius; the measure is iambic trimeter. — **sub axe**, *under the pole;* **ad**, *towards, near to;* **molitur**, *piles up.* — **ἀντίχθονα**, *the land of the antipodes.*

69. hic autem . . . convestirier: parenthetical; the construction is resumed with **tum multitudinem** which depends upon **ut cum videmus**; the infinitives **nitescere**, etc., depend upon **intermittit.** — **caelum**, etc.: the quotation is probably from the *Eumenides* of Ennius; the meter is iambic trimeter. — **frondescere**: notice the rhyme in the first three lines; cf. *inflammari . . . turpari*, 85. — **scatere**: the form *scatĕre* is anteclassical. — **convestirier**: archaic for *convestiri.* — **deorum cultorem**: this anticipates the very point, namely, the existence of the gods, which Cicero wishes to prove and which he states in the proper order in 70. — **utilitati**: limiting **parentia**, which is to be taken with both **agros** and **maria.**

70 haec . . . cernimus: a recapitulation from **cum videmus**, 68, to **parentia.** — **possumusne . . . quin**: following **cum**

aliquis vel effector, si haec nata sunt, ut Platoni videtur, vel, si semper fuerunt, ut Aristoteli placet, moderator tanti operis et muneris? Sic mentem hominis, quamvis eam non videas, ut deum non vides, tamen, ut deum adgnoscis ex operibus eius, sic ex memoria rerum et inventione et celeritate motus omnique pulchritudine virtutis vim divinam mentis adgnoscito.

In quo igitur loco est? Credo equidem in capite et 29
cur credam adferre possum. Sed alias, ubi sit animus; certe quidem in te est. Quae est ei natura? Propria, puto, et sua. Sed fac igneam, fac spirabilem; nihil ad id de quo agimus. Illud modo videto, ut deum noris, etsi eius ignores et locum et faciem, sic animum tibi tuum notum esse oportere, etiamsi ignores et locum et formam. In animi autem cognitione dubitare non possu- 71
mus, nisi plane in physicis plumbei sumus, quin nihil sit animis admixtum, nihil concretum, nihil copulatum, nihil coagmentatum, nihil duplex. Quod cum ita sit, certe

videmus, at the beginning of the chapter, we should expect *non possumus . . . quin* instead of the interrogative form. The length of the passage and the recapitulation clause account for the anacoluthon. — **Platoni . . . Aristoteli**: cf. *Acad.* II. 118, 119 *Plato ex materia . . . mundum factum esse censet . . . Aristoteles (dicit) . . . neque ortum esse umquam mundum.* — **muneris**: from *a public show* given to the people by the aediles, *munus* came to mean a place, or building, where such spectacles were exhibited. It is here applied figuratively to the universe, the great temple in which the Creator displays his wonderful works. — **sic mentem**: see *ut*, 68 n. — **vim . . . mentis**: anacoluthon; we should expect *divinam esse* agreeing with **mentem**, but after the long intervening passage the construction is changed.

29. in capite: the view of the later Stoics; the earlier Stoics located the soul in the breast. — **adferre**: used absolutely, *to show.* — **alias**: temporal adverb; sc. *dicemus*, upon which **ubi . . . animus** depends. — **fac**, *grant that it is, suppose it to be.* — **nihil ad id**: sc. *pertinet.* — **tibi tuum**: emphatic.

71. plumbei, *leaden, stupid;* the figure is taken from a leaden sword or dagger; cf. *de Fin.* IV. 48 *o plumbeum pugionem!* and similar metaphors in *ferreus, aureus,*

nec secerni nec dividi nec discerpi nec distrahi potest, ne interire quidem igitur. Est enim interitus quasi discessus et secretio ac diremptus earum partium quae ante interitum iunctione aliqua tenebantur.

His et talibus rationibus adductus Socrates nec patronum quaesivit ad iudicium capitis nec iudicibus supplex fuit adhibuitque liberam contumaciam a magnitudine animi ductam, non a superbia, et supremo vitae die de hoc ipso multa disseruit et paucis ante diebus, cum facile posset educi e custodia, noluit et tum paene in manu iam mortiferum illud tenens poculum locutus ita est ut non ad mortem trudi, verum in caelum videretur escendere.
30 72 Ita enim censebat itaque disseruit, duas esse vias duplicesque cursus animorum e corpore excedentium. Nam qui se humanis vitiis contaminavissent et se totos libidinibus dedissent, quibus caecati vel domesticis vitiis atque flagitiis se inquinavissent vel re publica violanda fraudes inexpiabiles concepissent, iis devium quoddam iter esse, seclusum a concilio deorum; qui autem se integros

etc. — **secerni . . . dividi**, etc.: corresponding to **admixtum . . . concretum**, etc. — **diremptus**: apparently found only in this place. — **patronum**, *advocate*. — **ad iudicium capitis**, *when on trial for his life*. Socrates refused to use in his own defense the address which the orator Lysias had prepared for him; cf. *de Or.* I. 231. — **adhibuitque**: **-que** is adversative in force, *but; et* and *atque* are often used in the same way, especially when a positive clause follows a negative, as in this instance. — **contumaciam**: used here in a good sense. — **de hoc ipso**: *i.e.* the immortality of the soul. — **educi e custodia**: Crito, a rich Athenian, friend and disciple of Socrates, made arrangements for him to escape from prison, but Socrates refused to save his life in this way. The *Crito* of Plato is based upon this incident.

30. 72. ita enim . . . disseruit: the following sayings of Socrates are taken from the *Phaedo* of Plato, p. 80 ff. In this passage Cicero follows the original very closely. — **domesticis**: *i.e.* in private life, in distinction from **re publica**. — **fraudes . . . concepissent**, *had been guilty of unpardonable crimes*. — **devium . . . iter esse**: cf. *Som. Scip.* 21 *corporibus*

castosque servavissent, quibusque fuisset minima cum corporibus contagio, seseque ab iis semper sevocavissent essentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum, iis ad illos, a quibus essent profecti, reditum facilem patere. Itaque commemorat, ut cygni, qui non 73
sine causa Apollini dicati sint, sed quod ab eo divinationem habere videantur, qua providentes quid in morte boni sit cum cantu et voluptate moriantur, sic omnibus bonis et doctis esse faciendum. Nec vero de hoc quisquam dubitare posset, nisi idem nobis accideret diligenter de animo cogitantibus quod iis saepe usu venit qui [cum] acriter oculis deficientem solem intuerentur, ut aspectum omnino amitterent; sic mentis acies se ipsa intuens non numquam hebescit ob eamque causam contemplandi diligentiam amittimus. Itaque dubitans, circumspectans, haesitans, multa adversa reverens tamquam in rate in mari immenso nostra vehitur ratio. Sed haec et vetera 74
et a Graecis. Cato autem sic abiit e vita ut causam

elapsi circum terram ipsam volutantur. — **contagio**, *harmful contact.* — **seseque . . . sevocavissent**: for the subject, sc. *qui*, from **qui . . . servavissent**; the dative **quibusque**, required by **fuisset**, seems to confuse the construction somewhat, but the course of thought is perfectly clear. With **sevocavissent**, cf. *sevocare mentem*, 38. — **ad illos . . . profecti . . . patere**: cf. 57 and 58; *de Am.* 13; and ibid. 14 *id si ita est ut optimi cuiusque animus in morte facillime evolet tamquam e custodia vinclisque corporis, cui censemus cursum ad deos faciliorem fuisse quam Scipioni?*

73. ut cygni: sc. *faciant;* we should expect *moriantur* as the predicate of **cygni**, but the construction is changed by the intervening clause, **qua providentes**. — **Apollini dicati**: Plato in the *Phaedo* calls them Ἀπόλλωνος θεράποντες, *attendants of Apollo.* — **cum cantu . . . moriantur**: cf. Plin. *H. N.* X. 63 *olorum morte narratur flebilis cantus, falso, ut arbitror aliquot experimentis.* — **doctis**, *philosophers.* — **usu venit**: equivalent to *accidit;* historical perfect. [**cum**]: see Crit. App. — **ut . . . amitterent**: in explanatory apposition with **quod**. — **mentis acies**, *the eye of the mind.* — **reverens**, *fearing.* — **ratio**, *reason.*

74. Cato: M. Porcius Cato Uticensis, great-grandson of Cato Maior, took his own life after

moriendi nactum se esse gauderet. Vetat enim dominans ille in nobis deus iniussu hinc nos suo demigrare; cum vero causam iustam deus ipse dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, saepe multis, ne ille medius fidius vir sapiens laetus ex his tenebris in lucem illam excesserit, nec tamen illa vincla carceris ruperit (leges enim vetant), sed tamquam a magistratu aut ab aliqua potestate legitima, sic a deo evocatus atque emissus exierit. Tota enim philosophorum vita, ut ait idem, commentatio
31 mortis est. Nam quid aliud agimus, cum a voluptate, id
75 est a corpore, cum a re familiari, quae est ministra et famula corporis, cum a re publica, cum a negotio omni sevocamus animum, quid, inquam, tum agimus, nisi animum ad se ipsum advocamus, secum esse cogimus maximeque a corpore abducimus? Secernere autem a corpore animum, nec quicquam aliud, est mori discere. Quare hoc commentemur, mihi crede, disiungamusque nos a corporibus, id est, consuescamus mori. Hoc, et dum erimus in terris, erit illi caelesti vitae simile, et cum illuc ex his vinclis emissi feremur, minus tardabitur

Caesar's victory at Thapsus, 46 B.C. On the last night of his life he read Plato's *Phaedo*. — **vetat . . . demigrare**: cf. *Som. Scip.* 7 *quare et tibi, Publi, et piis omnibus retinendus animus est in custodia corporis*, etc.; also *de Sen.* 73 *vetatque Pythagoras iniussu imperatoris, id est dei, de praesidio et statione vitae decedere*. — **saepe multis**: pleonasm. — **ne**, *truly;* in Cicero accompanied by a personal or demonstrative pronoun, as here; cf. *ne ego*, 99. — **medius fidius**: *i.e. me-dius fidius, the god of good faith;* translate, *most surely*. — **excesserit**: the future perfect, following the same tense in **dederit**, denotes simultaneous accomplishment. — **leges . . . vetant**: see Crit. App. — **ait idem**: Plato *Phaed.* p. 67 d. — **commentatio mortis**, *meditation on death*.

31. 75. **re familiari**, *property*. — **secum esse**: cf. *de Sen.* 49 *animum . . . secum esse secumque, ut dicitur, vivere*. — **nec quicquam . . . discere**: see Crit. App. — **hoc, et**: refers to **disiungamusque . . . corporibus**. — **illuc**: *i.e. ad caelestem vitam*. — **tardabitur cursus**: the regular construction would be

cursus animorum. Nam qui in compedibus corporis semper fuerunt, etiam cum soluti sunt, tardius ingrediuntur, ut ii qui ferro vincti multos annos fuerunt. Quo cum venerimus, tum denique vivemus. Nam haec quidem vita mors est, quam lamentari possem, si liberet.

A. Satis tu quidem in Consolatione es lamentatus ; 76
quam cum lego nihil malo quam has res relinquere, his vero modo auditis multo magis.

M. Veniet tempus, et quidem celeriter, sive retractabis sive properabis ; volat enim aetas. Tantum autem abest ab eo ut malum mors sit, quod tibi dudum videbatur, ut verear ne homini nihil sit non malum aliud, certe sit nihil bonum aliud potius, siquidem vel di ipsi vel cum dis futuri sumus.

A. Quid refert ?

M. Adsunt enim qui haec non probent. Ego autem numquam ita te in hoc sermone dimittam ulla uti ratione mors tibi videri malum possit.

hoc . . . minus tardabit cursum animorum. — **compedibus corporis,** *bonds of the body ;* the soul is held in the chains and fetters of the body. — **quo**: see note on *illuc*, above. — **haec . . . vita,** *this present life ;* cf. *Som. Scip.* 6 *vestra vero quae dicitur vita mors est.* — **quam**: referring to **vita**.

76. **Consolatione**: see 65 n. — **malo quam**: **quam** shows that the force of the compound is felt, *magis-volo.* — **has res**: *i.e.* this world. — **his**: the preceding argument. — **retractabis**: used absolutely, *hold back.* — **tantum . . . mors sit,** *but so far is death from being an evil.* — **ut verear . . . potius, siquidem,** *that I am inclined to think there is nothing else* (**nihil aliud**) *which is not evil* (**non malum**) *to man, or rather that no other good is more desirable* (**potius,** an adjective) *for him, since,* etc. ; *vereor ne* is often equivalent to *I rather think ;* see Lane 1958. — **quid refert**: referring to **vel di ipsi . . . sumus** ; A. asks *what difference* this part makes when he is assured that death is not an evil. — **adsunt enim**: for the ellipsis involved in the use of **enim**, cf. *quis enim*, 11. The answer of M. implies that he believes this point important, *for there are some present who do not accept these statements.* — **ego,** etc. : note the emphasis gained by the insertion of **ego** and the position of **numquam** and **ulla . . . ratione.**

77 *A.* Qui potest, cum ista cognoverim?

M. Qui possit rogas? Catervae veniunt contra dicentium, nec solum Epicureorum, quos equidem non despicio, sed nescio quo modo doctissimus quisque contemnit, acerrime autem deliciae meae Dicaearchus contra hanc immortalitatem disseruit. Is enim tris libros scripsit, qui Lesbiaci vocantur, quod Mytilenis sermo habetur, in quibus volt efficere animos esse mortalis. Stoici autem usuram nobis largiuntur tamquam cornicibus;
32 diu mansuros aiunt animos, semper negant. Num non vis igitur audire cur, etiamsi ita sit, mors tamen non sit in malis?

A. Vt videtur; sed me nemo de immortalitate depellet.

78 *M.* Laudo id quidem, etsi nihil nimis oportet confidere. Movemur enim saepe aliquo acute concluso, labamus mutamusque sententiam clarioribus etiam in rebus; in his est enim aliqua obscuritas. Id igitur si acciderit, simus armati.

77. qui, *how*. — **potest . . . possit**: sc. *mors videri malum*. — **quos . . . non despicio**: ironical; cf. II. 7 *quos* (*Epicureos*) *non contemno equidem, quippe quos numquam legerim*. — **contemnit**: see Crit. App. — **Dicaearchus**: see 21 n. — **Mytilenis**: Mytilenae, the chief city of the island of Lesbos. — **efficere**, *to prove*. — **Stoici**: for their views, see 18 n and 42 n. — **usuram**, *a long use*; sc. *vitae*. — **cornicibus**: cf. III. 69 *Theophrastus autem moriens accusasse naturam dicitur quod cervis et cornicibus vitam diuturnam, quorum id nihil interesset, hominibus quorum maxime interfuisset tam exiguam vitam dedisset*; Lucret. V. 1084 *cornicum . . . saecla vetusta*; Hor. *Carm.* III. 17. 13 *annosa cornix*; Plin. *H. N.* VII. 153 *Hesiodus . . . cornici novem nostras attribuit aetates*; and Bryant's "century-living crow." — **semper negant**: note the asyndeton.

32. ita: *i.e.* if the soul is not immortal. — **immortalitate**: used instead of *opinione immortalitatis*.

78. acute: for this use of an adverb modifying a participle (**concluso**) used substantively, see A. & G. 207 c. — **in his . . . enim**: for this elliptical use of **enim**, see *adsunt enim*, 76 n; *i.e.* the **obscuritas** in the present topic (the immortality of the soul) will make it so much the easier for one to

A. Sane quidem, sed ne accidat providebo.

M. Num quid igitur est causae quin amicos nostros Stoicos dimittamus? eos dico, qui aiunt manere animos, cum e corpore excesserint, sed non semper.

A. Istos vero, qui, quod tota in hac causa difficillimum est, suscipiant, posse animum manere corpore vacantem, illud autem, quod non modo facile ad credendum est, sed eo concesso, quod volunt, consequens, id non concedant, ut, cum diu permanserit, ne intereat.

M. Bene reprehendis, et se isto modo res habet. Credamus igitur Panaetio a Platone suo dissentienti? 79
Quem enim omnibus locis divinum, quem sapientissimum, quem sanctissimum, quem Homerum philosophorum appellat, huius hanc unam sententiam de immortalitate animorum non probat. Volt enim, quod nemo negat, quicquid natum sit interire; nasci autem animos, quod declaret eorum similitudo qui procreentur, quae etiam in ingeniis, non solum in corporibus appareat. Alteram autem adfert rationem, nihil esse, quod doleat, quin id aegrum esse quoque possit; quod autem in morbum cadat, id etiam interiturum; dolere autem animos, ergo etiam interire. Haec refelli possunt; sunt enim 33 80
ignorantis, cum de aeternitate animorum dicatur, de mente dici, quae omni turbido motu semper vacet, non

change his opinion. — **amicos . . . Stoicos**: Cicero, in his *de Officiis*, made the morality of the Stoics the basis of his own system of ethics, thus showing the favor with which he looked upon many of the doctrines of that school. — **istos vero**: sc. *dimittamus*. — **suscipiant**, *undertake to prove*. — **posse . . . vacantem**: explaining **quod . . . difficillimum est**. — **id**: continuing **illud autem** and explained by **ut . . . ne intereat**.

79. **Panaetio**: see 42 n; cf. *de Fin.* IV. 79 *Panaetius . . . semper habuit in ore Platonem, Aristotelem, Xenocratem, Theophrastum, Dicaearchum, ut ipsius scripta declarant*. — **similitudo**: *i.e.* their *resemblance* to their parents.

33. 80. **de mente**, *of the intellect, reason*. — **non de . . . iis**: sc.

de partibus iis in quibus aegritudines, irae libidinesque versentur, quas is, contra quem haec dicuntur, semotas a mente et disclusas putat. Iam similitudo magis apparet in bestiis, quarum animi sunt rationis expertes; hominum autem similitudo in corporum figura magis exstat, et ipsi animi magni refert quali in corpore locati sint. Multa enim e corpore exsistunt quae acuant mentem, multa quae obtundant. Aristoteles quidem ait omnis ingeniosos melancholicos esse, ut ego me tardiorem esse non moleste feram. Enumerat multos, idque quasi constet, rationem cur ita fiat adfert. Quodsi tanta vis est ad habitum mentis in iis quae gignuntur in corpore (ea sunt autem, quaecumque sunt, quae similitudinem faciant), nihil necessitatis adfert cur
81 nascantur animi similitudo. Omitto dissimilitudines. Vellem adesse posset Panaetius (vixit cum Africano); quaererem ex eo, cuius suorum similis fuisset Africani fratris nepos, facie vel patris, vita omnium perditorum ita similis ut esset facile deterrimus; cuius etiam similis P. Crassi, et sapientis et eloquentis et primi hominis,

dici. — **versentur,** *are located.* — **is . . . putat:** sc. Plato; cf. 20. — **iam similitudo,** etc.: in answer to the argument *volt enim . . . appareat,* 79. — **Aristoteles quidem ait,** *Aristotle, for example, says; Prob.* XXX. *Quaest.* 1; cf. Sen. *de Tranq.* 15. 16 *sive (credimus) Aristoteli, nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiae fuit;* also Gell. XVIII. 7. 4. — **me tardiorem:** sc. *animo.* — **idque . . . constet,** *as if the fact were established.* — **ad habitum mentis,** *on the character of the mind, i.e.* in determining mental characteristics.

81. vixit . . . Africano: Panaetius was the friend and teacher of the younger Africanus and Laelius. — **Africani fratris nepos:** Q. Fabius Maximus, grandson of Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, is referred to. Because of his base character he was placed under guardians appointed by the state; cf. Val. Max. III. 5. 2. Africanus Minor was the son of Aemilius Paulus and was adopted by the son of Africanus Maior. The brother of Africanus Minor was adopted by Q. Fabius Maximus. — **facie vel patris,** *in features like his father, if you will.* — **P. Crassi**

nepos multorumque aliorum clarorum virorum, quos nihil attinet nominare, nepotes et filii. Sed quid agimus? oblitine sumus hoc nunc nobis esse propositum, cum satis de aeternitate dixissemus, ne si interirent quidem animi, quicquam mali esse in morte?

A. Ego vero memineram, sed te de aeternitate dicentem aberrare a proposito facile patiebar.

M. Video te alte spectare et velle in caelum migrare. 34 82
Spero fore ut contingat id nobis. Sed fac, ut isti volunt, animos non remanere post mortem; video nos, si ita sit, privari spe beatioris vitae; mali vero quid adfert ista sententia? Fac enim sic animum interire ut corpus; num igitur aliquis dolor aut omnino post mortem sensus in corpore est? Nemo id quidem dicit, etsi Democritum insimulat Epicurus, Democritii negant. Ne in animo quidem igitur sensus remanet; ipse enim nusquam est. Vbi igitur malum est, quoniam nihil tertium est? an ipse

. . . **nepos**: P. Licinius Crassus Dives, consul 97 B.C., had two sons, Marcus, who was defeated and slain by the Parthians 53 B.C., and Publius. The son of the latter is the one referred to here by the word **nepos**. He received the surname *decoctor, spendthrift, bankrupt;* cf. Val. Max. VI. 9. 12. There is much confusion on the part of editors in regard to the person here meant, — due to the large number in the Crassus family who bore the name Publius. — **primi hominis**: equivalent to *principis civitatis*. — **sed quid agimus**: cf. *quorsus . . . oratio*, 60. — **oblitine . . . morte**: cf. *num . . . in malis*, 77. — **facile patiebar**: cf. *facile sum passus*, 55.

34. 82. alte spectare: cf. *Som. Scip.* 17 *alte spectare si voles atque hanc sedem et aeternam domum contueri.* — **fore . . . contingat**: used for the future infinitive; see A. & G. 288 f. — **isti**: the Stoics; cf. *istos vero*, 78. — **video**, *I see, i.e. admit.* — **mali vero**: emphatic adversative to the preceding clause. — **aliquis**, *any, i.e.* even the slightest. — **sensus**, *feeling*. — **Democritum**: see 22 n; according to Plutarch, *Plac.* IV. 4, Democritus taught that some heat and feeling remained in the atoms of the body even after death. — **Epicurus**: Epicurus of Samos (342–270 B.C.) began to teach philosophy in his "Garden" at Athens about 306 B.C. — **nihil tertium**: nothing except body and spirit. — **an**

animi discessus a corpore non fit sine dolore? Vt credam ita esse, quam est id exiguum! Sed falsum esse arbitror, et fit plerumque sine sensu, non numquam etiam cum voluptate, totumque hoc leve est, qualecumque est; fit enim
83 ad punctum temporis. Illud angit vel potius excruciat, discessus ab omnibus iis quae sunt bona in vita. Vide ne 'a malis' dici verius possit. Quid ego nunc lugeam vitam hominum? Vere et iure possum; sed quid necesse est, cum id agam, ne post mortem miseros nos putemus fore, etiam vitam efficere deplorando miseriorem? Fecimus hoc in eo libro in quo nosmet ipsos, quantum potuimus, consolati sumus. A malis igitur mors abducit, non a bonis, verum si quaerimus. Et quidem hoc a Cyrenaico Hegesia sic copiose disputatur ut is a rege Ptolemaeo prohibitus esse dicatur illa in scholis dicere, quod multi iis auditis mortem sibi ipsi consciscerent.
84 Callimachi quidem epigramma in Ambraciotam Cleombrotum est, quem ait, cum ei nihil accidisset adversi, e

ipse: see Crit. App. — **ut credam**: for the concessive use of *ut*, see 49 n. — **id**: referring to the clause **animi ... dolore**. — **totumque**: see *eademque*, 64 n.

83. **vide ne**: a polite formula for *dubito an*, *vereor ne*. — **a malis**: sc. *discessus*. — **possum**: sc. *lugere*; for the mood, see Lane 1495. — **in eo libro**: in the *de Consolatione*; cf. 65. — **Cyrenaico Hegesia**: the Cyrenaic school of philosophy was founded by Aristippus, a native of Cyrene in Africa, and a pupil of Socrates. Hegesias of Alexandria (circ. 340 B.C.) held that life contained more pain than pleasure. His gloomy doctrine led many of his hearers to commit suicide, from which fact he received the surname Πεισιθάνατος. Under Hegesias the Cyrenaic doctrine became practically merged in that of the Cynics. — **Ptolemaeo**: Ptolemy Philadelphus. — **in scholis**, *in his lectures*.

84. **Callimachi**: Callimachus of Cyrene, who flourished about 260 B.C., was a famous poet and critic of the Alexandrian school. — **epigramma**: cf. Callim. *Epigr.* 24

Εἶπας Ἥλιε χαῖρε, Κλεόμβροτος Ὠμβρακιώτης
Ἥλατ' ἀφ' ὑψήλου τείχεος εἰς Ἀΐδην,
Ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἰδὼν θανάτου κακόν, ἀλλὰ Πλάτωνος
Ἓν τὸ περὶ ψυχῆς γράμμ' ἀναλεξάμενος.

— **Cleombrotum**: an Academic philosopher of Ambracia in Epirus.

muro se in mare abiecisse lecto Platonis libro. Eius autem, quem dixi, Hegesiae liber est Ἀποκαρτερῶν, in quo a vita quidam per inediam discedens revocatur ab amicis, quibus respondens vitae humanae enumerat incommoda. Possem idem facere, etsi minus quam ille qui omnino vivere expedire nemini putat. Mitto alios; etiamne nobis expedit? qui et domesticis et forensibus solaciis ornamentisque privati certe si ante occidissemus, mors nos a malis, non a bonis abstraxisset.

Sit igitur aliquis qui nihil mali habeat, nullum a for- 35 85
tuna volnus acceperit. Metellus ille honoratis quattuor filiis, at quinquaginta Priamus, e quibus septemdecim iusta uxore natis. In utroque eandem habuit fortuna potestatem, sed usa in altero est. Metellum enim multi filii filiae, nepotes neptes in rogum imposuerunt, Priamum tanta progenie orbatum, cum in aram confugisset, hostilis manus interemit. Hic si vivis filiis incolumi regno occidisset

— **lecto . . . libro**: the *Phaedo*. — **Ἀποκαρτερῶν**: one who commits suicide by abstaining from food. — **in quo**: see Crit. App. — **possem**: we should expect *poteram*; see *possum*, 83 n. — **mitto**: for *omitto*. — **qui . . . privati certe**: note the attraction; we should expect *quos . . . privatos* **certe si**, etc. — **domesticis . . . ornamentisque**: by **domesticis solaciis** Cicero refers to the death of his daughter Tullia; by **forensibus ornamentis** to his political honors, taken from him for the time by the supremacy of Caesar.

35. 85. sit . . . aliquis, *suppose, then, there is some one*. — **habeat, nullum**: asyndeton. — **Metellus ille**, *the famous Metellus*; sc. *fuit*; Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus reduced Macedonia to a Roman province and was made consul 143 B.C. Of his sons three were consuls during his lifetime, the fourth after his death; cf. *de Fin.* V. 82 *Q. Metellus . . . tris filios consules vidit, e quibus unum etiam et censorem et triumphantem, quartum autem praetorem . . . cum ipse consul, censor, augur fuisset et triumphasset*. — **honoratis**: *i.e.* having held curule offices, *honores*. — **septemdecim**: according to Homer, *Il.* XXIV. 496, Priam and Hecuba had nineteen sons. — **natis**: instead of *nati* by attraction, because of **filiis**. — **hostilis . . . interemit**: Priam was slain by Pyrrhus, son of Achilles;

. . astánte ope bárbarica
Tectís caelatis, láqueatis,

utrum tandem a bonis an a malis discessisset? Tum profecto videretur a bonis. At certe ei melius evenisset, nec tam flebiliter illa canerentur:

Haec ómnia vidi inflámmari,
Priamó vi vitam evítari,
Iovis áram sanguine túrpari.

Quasi vero ista vi quicquam tum potuerit ei melius accidere! Quodsi ante occidisset, talem eventum omnino amisisset; hoc autem tempore sensum amisit malorum.
86 Pompeio, nostro familiari, cum graviter aegrotaret Neapoli, melius est factum. Coronati Neapolitani fuerunt, nimirum etiam Puteolani, volgo ex oppidis publice gratulabantur. Ineptum sane negotium et Graeculum, sed tamen fortunatum. Vtrum igitur, si tum esset exstinctus, a bonis rebus an a malis discessisset? Certe a miseris. Non enim cum socero bellum gessisset, non inparatus arma sumpsisset, non domum reliquisset, non ex Italia

cf. Verg. *Aen.* II. 506 ff.; also Juv. 10. 258 ff. — **astante . . . laqueatis**: sc. at the beginning *Vidi ego te;* these lines with the three below are from the *Andromache* of Ennius. They are quoted with additional verses in III. 44, 45. The measure is anapaestic dimeter, with frequent substitution of other feet (especially spondees) for anapaests. — **barbarica**, *foreign.* — **tectis**, *ceilings.* — **evitari**: anteclassical; from *e*+*vita*, *to be deprived of life*. Note the alliteration in this verse and the similarity of ending in the three verses; cf. *frondescere*, etc., 69. — **amisisset . . . amisit**: a play on the word; in the first instance it means *he would have escaped*, in the second it has its usual force.

86. **Pompeio**: see 12 n. — **cum . . . aegrotaret**: in 50 B.C. — **melius est factum**: equivalent to *convaluit, he recovered.* — **coronati**, *garlanded* with wreaths, as expressive of their joy. — **nimirum etiam**, *of course also; i.e.* the small city had to imitate the great one. — **Graeculum**: used disparagingly, *thoroughly Greek.* — **fortunatum**: *i.e.* a proof of his good fortune. — **socero**: Julius Caesar, whose daughter Julia was married to Pompey. Her death, in 54 B.C., broke the bond of union

fugisset, non exercitu amisso nudus in servorum ferrum et manus incidisset[, non liberi defleti, non fortunae omnes a victoribus possiderentur]. Qui, si mortem tum obisset, in amplissimis fortunis occidisset, is propagatione vitae quot, quantas, quam incredibilis hausit calamitates! Haec morte effugiuntur, etiamsi non **36** evenerunt, tamen, quia possunt evenire; sed homines ea sibi accidere posse non cogitant. Metelli sperat sibi quisque fortunam, proinde quasi aut plures fortunati sint quam infelices aut certi quicquam sit in rebus humanis aut sperare sit prudentius quam timere.

Sed hoc ipsum concedatur, bonis rebus homines **87** morte privari; ergo etiam carere mortuos vitae commodis, idque esse miserum? Certe ita dicant necesse est. An potest is, qui non est, re ulla carere? Triste enim est nomen ipsum carendi, quia subicitur haec vis: habuit, non habet, desiderat, requirit, indiget. Haec, opinor, incommoda sunt carentis. Caret oculis, odiosa caecitas; liberis, orbitas. Valet hoc in vivis, mortuorum autem non modo vitae commodis, sed ne vita quidem ipsa quisquam caret. De mortuis loquor qui nulli

between Caesar and Pompey. — **nudus**, *unarmed*. — **servorum . . . incidisset**: referring to Pompey's murder on the coast of Egypt. — **[non . . . possiderentur]**: see Crit. App. — **qui . . . calamitates**: cf. Vell. II. 48. 2; Juv. 10. 283 ff. — **hausit**: *i.e.* he drained the cup of sorrow to its dregs.

36. haec: neuter, *such things as these*, referring to **calamitates**. — **non evenerunt**, *have not actually taken place*; used of occurrences fortunate or unfortunate in themselves. — **accidere**: referring generally to unfortunate events. — **proinde quasi**, *just as if*.

87. ergo etiam: sc. *concedendum est*. — **an**: introducing a question in refutation of the preceding statement. — **nomen**, *the word*. — **carendi**: see *mercedem gloriae*, 34 n. — **non . . . indiget**: note the series, *is without, misses, seeks for, feels the need of*. — **caret**, *is deprived of*. — **odiosa**: sc. *est*. — **liberis**: sc. *caret*. — **orbitas**: sc. *odiosa igitur est*. — **valet**: equivalent to *dici potest*. — **non modo**, when followed by **sed ne . . .**

sunt; nos, qui sumus, num aut cornibus caremus aut pinnis? ecquis id dixerit? Certe nemo. Quid ita? Quia, cum id non habeas quod tibi nec usu nec natura sit aptum, non careas, etiamsi sentias te non habere.
88 Hoc premendum etiam atque etiam est argumentum confirmato illo, de quo, si mortales animi sunt, dubitare non possumus, quin tantus interitus in morte sit ut ne minima quidem suspicio sensus relinquatur; hoc igitur probe stabilito et fixo illud excutiendum est, ut sciatur quid sit carere, ne relinquatur aliquid erroris in verbo. Carere igitur hoc significat: egere eo quod habere velis. Inest enim velle in carendo, nisi cum sic tamquam in febri dicitur alia quadam notione verbi. Dicitur enim alio modo etiam carere, cum aliquid non habeas et non habere te sentias, etiamsi id facile patiare. Ita carere in morte non dicitur; nec enim esset dolendum; dicitur illud: bono carere, quod est malum. Sed ne vivus quidem bono caret, si eo non indiget; sed in vivo intellegi tamen potest, regno te carere (dici autem hoc in te satis subtiliter non potest, posset in Tarquinio, cum regno esset expulsus), at in mortuo ne intellegi quidem. Carere enim sentientis est, nec sensus in mortuo; ne carere quidem igitur in mortuo est.

quidem, is equivalent to *non modo non* when the verb standing in the second clause belongs also to the first. — **quid ita**: sc. *nemo dixerit.*

88. **quin . . . sit**: we should expect the accusative and infinitive depending upon **confirmato illo**, but the subjunctive with **quin** is used because of **dubitare non possumus**; for the opposite form of this attraction, see *terram . . . obtinere*, 40 n. — **quid sit carere**, *what the word carere means.* — **velle**: the subject of **inest.** — **dicitur alia**: sc. *carere* as subject. — **in morte**, *of the dead.* — **quod est malum**, *and that* (**bono carere**) *is an evil.* — **regno te carere**, *that you, for example, are deprived of a kingdom;* introduced to illustrate **in vivo . . . potest.** — **satis subtiliter**, *with any accuracy.* — **ne intellegi quidem**: sc. *potest.* — **sentientis est**, *applies to a conscious*

Quamquam quid opus est in hoc philosophari, cum 37 89
rem non magnopere philosophia egere videamus? Quotiens non modo ductores nostri, sed universi etiam exercitus ad non dubiam mortem concurrerunt! Quae quidem si timeretur, non L. Brutus arcens eum reditu tyrannum, quem ipse expulerat, in proelio concidisset, non cum Latinis decertans pater Decius, cum Etruscis filius, cum Pyrrho nepos se hostium telis obiecissent, non uno bello pro patria cadentis Scipiones Hispania vidisset, Paulum et Geminum Cannae, Venusia Marcellum, Litana Albinum, Lucani Gracchum. Num quis horum miser hodie? Ne tum quidem post spiritum extremum; nec enim potest esse miser quisquam sensu perempto. At 90
id ipsum odiosum est, sine sensu esse. Odiosum, si id

being, one possessed of life and feeling.

37. 89. cum . . . videamus: the matter is not one for theory alone, but may be made clear by examples from history. — **quotiens . . . concurrerunt:** cf. *de Sen.* 75. — **ductores:** a favorite word of Vergil, but apparently found only here in Cicero. — **timeretur:** see *haereret*, 27 n. — **L. Brutus:** Brutus, the first consul, was killed in battle by Aruns, son of Tarquinius Superbus, 509 B.C. — **Decius . . . filius . . . nepos:** at the battle of Vesuvius in the war against the Latins, 340 B.C., P. Decius Mus offered his life as a voluntary sacrifice to propitiate the gods and win victory for the Romans. His son imitated his example at the battle of Sentinum, 295 B.C., in the war against the Samnites and Etruscans. The grandson is said to have met a like fate at the battle of Asculum, 279 B.C., in the war against Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. The story of the grandson, however, is not so well authenticated as that of the father and son. — **Scipiones:** Publius and Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, father and uncle of Africanus Maior, fell in Spain in the Second Punic War, 212 B.C. — **Paulum et Geminum:** L. Aemilius Paulus, consul, and Cn. Servilius Geminus (consul 217 B.C.) were killed in the battle of Cannae, 216 B.C. — **Marcellum:** M. Claudius Marcellus fell in battle against the Carthaginians at Venusia, 208 B.C. — **Litana:** sc. *silva;* a forest in Cisalpine Gaul south of Mutina, where L. Postumius Albinus, consul elect, was defeated and slain by the Boii, allies of Hannibal, 215 B.C.; cf. Liv. XXIII. 24. 6–13. — **Gracchum:** Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, consul 215 and 213 B.C., was ambushed and slain by the Carthaginians in Lucania, 212 B.C.

90. odiosum: sc. *esset;* observe the distinction made between sine

esset carere. Cum vero perspicuum sit nihil posse in eo esse qui ipse non sit, quid potest esse in eo odiosum qui nec careat nec sentiat? Quamquam hoc quidem nimis saepe, sed eo quod in hoc inest omnis animi contractio ex metu mortis. Qui enim satis viderit, id quod est luce clarius, animo et corpore consumpto totoque animante deleto et facto interitu universo illud animal, quod fuerit, factum esse nihil, is plane perspiciet inter Hippocentaurum, qui numquam fuerit, et regem Agamemnonem nihil interesse, nec pluris nunc facere M. Camillum hoc civile bellum quam ego illo vivo fecerim Romam captam. Cur igitur et Camillus doleret, si haec post trecentos et quinquaginta fere annos eventura putaret, et ego doleam, si ad decem milia annorum gentem aliquam urbe nostra potituram putem? Quia tanta caritas patriae est ut eam
38 91 non sensu nostro, sed salute ipsius metiamur. Itaque non deterret sapientem mors, quae propter incertos casus cotidie imminet, propter brevitatem vitae numquam potest longe abesse, quo minus in omne tempus rei publicae suisque consulat aut posteritatem ipsam, cuius sensum habiturus non sit, ad se putet pertinere. Quare licet etiam mortalem esse animum iudicantem aeterna moliri,

esse and **carere**. — **nimis saepe**: sc. *a me dicitur*. — **sed eo**, *but I repeat it for this reason*. — **in hoc**: *i.e. odiosum est sine sensu esse*. — **contractio . . . mortis**: note the attributive force of **ex . . . mortis**; for **contractio**, *despondency* (literally, *shrinking*), cf. IV. 66 *eodem enim vitio est effusio animi in laetitia, quo in dolore contractio*. — **Agamemnonem**: king of Mycenae and commander-in-chief of the Greeks at Troy. — **M. Camillum**: M. Furius Camillus who liberated Rome after it had been captured by the Gauls under Brennus, 390 B.C. — **doleret . . . putaret**: we should expect *doluisset . . . putasset*; see Madvig 347. Obs. 2, where this passage is cited. — **haec**: referring to **hoc civile bellum**. — **ad . . . annorum**, *in ten thousand years*.

38. 91. in omne tempus, *for all time*. — **rei publicae . . . consulat**: *i.e.* having at heart, and working for, the future welfare of the state. — **mortalem . . . moliri**:

non gloriae cupiditate, quam sensurus non sit, sed virtutis, quam necessario gloria, etiamsi tu id non agas, consequatur.

Natura vero si se sic habet, ut, quo modo initium nobis rerum omnium ortus noster adferat, sic exitum mors, ut nihil pertinuit ad nos ante ortum, sic nihil post mortem pertinebit. In quo quid potest esse mali, cum mors nec ad vivos pertineat nec ad mortuos? Alteri nulli sunt, alteros non attinget. Quam qui leviorem 92
faciunt, somni simillimam volunt esse. Quasi vero quisquam ita nonaginta annos velit vivere, ut, cum sexaginta confecerit, reliquos dormiat! ne sui quidem id velint, non modo ipse. Endymion vero, si fabulas audire volumus, ut nescio quando in Latmo obdormivit, qui est mons Cariae, nondum, opinor, est experrectus. Num igitur eum curare censes, cum Luna laboret? a qua consopitus putatur ut eum dormientem oscularetur. Quid curet autem qui ne sentit quidem? Habes somnum imaginem mortis eamque cotidie induis, et dubitas quin sensus in

iudicantem governs **mortalem . . . animum**, and is used as the subject (*one who thinks*) of **moliri**. — **aeterna**, *immortal works*. — **etiamsi . . . agas**, *even if one does not seek this*. — **sic exitum mors**: sc. *nobis rerum omnium adferat*. — **in quo**: referring to the clause **sic . . . pertinebit**. — **alteri nulli**: referring to **mortuos**. — **alteros**: *i.e. vivos*.

92. faciunt, *attempt to make*; conative in force. — **somni simillimam**: cf. *de Sen.* 80 *iam vero videtis nihil esse morti tam simile quam somnum*. A common figure with poets (from Homer to Bryant) for death. — **quasi vero**: see *quasi . . . intellegant*, 50 n. — **ita . . . ut**, *on condition . . . that*. — **ne . . . quidem . . . non modo**: for the more common *non modo* (*non*) . . . *sed ne . . . quidem*; see 87 n. — **Endymion**: according to one form of the myth, Endymion was a beautiful shepherd or hunter on Mt. Latmos in Caria, and received eternal life from Zeus in the form of endless sleep. In this sleeping state he was beloved by Luna. — **ut**, *from the time that*. — **cum Luna laboret**, *when the moon is eclipsed*. — **a qua . . . oscularetur**: the more common form of the Endymion myth. — **et**: equivalent to *et tamen*.

morte nullus sit, cum in eius simulacro videas esse nullum sensum?

39 93 Pellantur ergo istae ineptiae paene aniles, ante tempus mori miserum esse. Quod tandem tempus? naturaene? At ea quidem dedit usuram vitae tamquam pecuniae nulla praestituta die. Quid est igitur quod querare, si repetit cum volt? ea enim condicione acceperas. Iidem, si puer parvus occidit, aequo animo ferendum putant, si vero in cunis, ne querendum quidem. Atqui ab hoc acerbius exegit natura quod dederat. Nondum gustaverat, inquit, vitae suavitatem; hic autem iam sperabat magna quibus frui coeperat. At id quidem in ceteris rebus melius putatur, aliquam partem quam nullam attingere; cur in vita secus? Quamquam non male ait Callimachus multo saepius lacrimasse Priamum quam Troilum. Eorum autem, qui exacta aetate moriuntur,
94 fortuna laudatur. Cur? nam, reor, nullis, si vita longior daretur, posset esse iucundior. Nihil enim est profecto homini prudentia dulcius, quam, ut cetera auferat, adfert

39. 93. istae: see 51 n. — **quod . . . tempus**: sc. *ante* from the preceding. — **nulla . . . die**: money is loaned to be returned at an appointed time, but life may be called back by nature at any moment; cf. Lucret. III. 971 *vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu.* — **repetit**: sc. *natura.* — **iidem**: *i.e.* those who utter the **ineptiae** referred to in **pellantur . . . esse.** — **atqui**, *and yet.* — **ab hoc**: referring to **si . . . in cunis**, above. — **acerbius exegit**: nature is a sterner creditor in this case in demanding back so quickly what she has given. — **inquit**: sc. *aliquis.* — **hic autem**: *i.e.* **puer parvus**, one old enough to enjoy life somewhat and to begin to take part in its business in distinction from the infant, **in cunis.** — **ceteris**: proleptic, *i.e.* all other things except life. — **quamquam**, *and yet.* — **non male**, *not unwisely.* — **Callimachus**: see 84 n. — **Troilum**: Troilus, the young son of Priam, slain by Achilles; cf. Verg. *Aen.* I. 474 ff. — **exacta aetate**, *in advanced age; i.e.* after the period of active life (*aetas*) has passed.

94. cur . . . iucundior: a criticism of the preceding sentiment, **eorum . . . laudatur.** — **nullis**: a rare substantive use of the plural of *nullus* instead of *nemo.* — **ut**: see 16 n. — **auferat, adfert**: the antithesis in meaning is emphasized

certe senectus. Quae vero aetas longa est, aut quid omnino homini longum? nonne

> Módo pueros, modo ádulescentes ín cursu
> a tergo ínsequens
> Néc opinantis ádsecuta est

senectus? Sed quia ultra nihil habemus, hoc longum dicimus. Omnia ista, perinde ut cuique data sunt pro rata parte, ita aut longa aut brevia dicuntur. Apud Hypanim fluvium, qui ab Europae parte in Pontum influit, Aristoteles ait bestiolas quasdam nasci quae unum diem vivant. Ex his igitur hora octava quae mortua est, provecta aetate mortua est; quae vero occidente sole, decrepita, eo magis, si etiam solstitiali die. Confer nostram longissimam aetatem cum aeternitate; in eadem propemodum brevitate qua illae bestiolae reperiemur.

Contemnamus igitur omnis ineptias (quod enim 40 95
levius huic levitati nomen imponam?) totamque vim bene vivendi in animi robore ac magnitudine et in

by the position. — **quae . . . longum**: cf. *de Sen.* 69 *quid est in hominis natura diu . . . mihi ne diuturnum quidem quicquam videtur in quo est aliquid extremum.* — **modo . . . est**: the author is unknown. The measure is trochaic tetrameter catalectic. — **modo**, *just now; i.e.* each age, from childhood on, passes quickly into the succeeding age. — **adulescentes**: men in the prime of life; the terms here used refer to a threefold division of the life of man; *pueritia* (**pueros**), *adulescentia* (**adulescentes**), **senectus**; cf. *de Sen.* 4 *qui enim citius adulescentiae senectus quam pueritiae adulescentia obrepit?* — **Hypanim**: the Hypanis, a small river in southwest Russia (now the Bug) flowing into the Black Sea. — **Aristoteles ait**: sc. *Hist. An.* V. 19. — **bestiolas**: called by Aristotle ἐφήμερα. — **decrepita**: in Cicero found only here. — **confer**: see *tolle*, 30 n. — **in . . . brevitate**: sc. *vitae;* the ablative with **in** has about the force of a genitive or ablative of quality.

40. 95. levius . . . levitati: paronomasia, of which Cicero was fond. — **-que . . . ac . . . et . . . ac . . . et**: note the careful use of

omnium rerum humanarum contemptione ac despicientia et in omni virtute ponamus. Nam nunc quidem cogitationibus mollissimis effeminamur, ut, si ante mors adventet quam Chaldaeorum promissa consecuti sumus, spoliati magnis quibusdam bonis, inlusi destitutique
96 videamur. Quodsi exspectando et desiderando pendemus animis, cruciamur, angimur, pro di immortales! quam illud iter iucundum esse debet, quo confecto nulla reliqua cura, nulla sollicitudo futura sit! Quam me delectat Theramenes! quam elato animo est! Etsi enim flemus cum legimus, tamen non miserabiliter vir clarus emoritur. Qui cum coniectus in carcerem triginta iussu tyrannorum venenum ut sitiens obduxisset, reliquum sic e poculo eiecit ut id resonaret, quo sonitu reddito adridens 'Propino' inquit 'hoc pulchro Critiae,' qui in eum fuerat taeterrimus. Graeci enim in conviviis solent nominare cui poculum trad ituri sint.

connectives; **-que** joins the sentence to the preceding; **et** divides it into coördinate parts; **ac** unites closely related terms in these parts. By this sentence **vis bene vivendi** is made dependent upon human will and character. — **adventet,** *should come quickly.* — **Chaldaeorum,** *astrologers; Chaldaei* lost its force as a proper name and came to be used merely as an appellative. — **videamur**: sc. *nobis.*

96. **pendemus animis,** *we are in suspense;* with *pendeo* and other verbs in this sense the locative singular, *animi,* is more common; see A. & G. 223 c; Lane 1339; and Crit. App. — **Theramenes**: Theramenes of Athens was chosen one of the Thirty Tyrants, 404 B.C.; but, opposing their plans (more from policy, it is supposed, than from principle), he was accused of treason by Critias, one of the Thirty, and condemned to drink the fatal hemlock. — **legimus**: sc. Xen. *Hell.* II. 3. 56. — **non miserabiliter**: *i.e. sine lamentatione;* contrasted with **flemus.** — **ut sitiens,** *as if thirsty.* — **ut . . . resonaret**: *i.e.* as in the Greek game of *cottabus,* played at banquets and consisting, in its simplest form, of throwing a few drops of wine into a metal basin. If the wine fell in the basin and gave a clear ring the omen was favorable. There were other more elaborate forms of the game. — **propino . . . hoc,** *I drink this to the health of.* — **pulchro,** *handsome,* merely as a polite term. — **cui . . . traditur i**: *i.e.* the banqueter passed the cup

Lusit vir egregius extremo spiritu, cum iam praecordiis conceptam mortem contineret, vereque ei, cui venenum praebiberat, mortem eam est auguratus quae brevi consecuta est. Quis hanc maximi animi aequitatem in 97
ipsa morte laudaret, si mortem malum iudicaret? Vadit enim in eundem carcerem atque in eundem paucis post annis scyphum Socrates eodem scelere iudicum, quo tyrannorum Theramenes. Quae est igitur eius oratio qua facit eum Plato usum apud iudices iam morte multatum?

'Magna me' inquit 'spes tenet, iudices, bene mihi 41
evenire, quod mittar ad mortem. Necesse est enim sit alterum de duobus, ut aut sensus omnino omnes mors auferat aut in alium quendam locum ex his locis morte migretur. Quam ob rem, sive sensus exstinguitur morsque ei somno similis est qui non numquam etiam sine visis somniorum placatissimam quietem adfert, di boni, quid lucri est emori! aut quam multi dies reperiri possunt qui tali nocti anteponantur, cui si similis futura est perpetuitas omnis consequentis temporis, quis me beatior? Sin vera sunt quae dicuntur, migrationem esse 98
mortem in eas oras quas, qui e vita excesserunt, incolunt,

to the one to whose health he had just drunk. — **praebiberat**: for *propinaverat*; in Cicero found only here. — **brevi consecuta est**: Critias was defeated and slain in the following year, 403 B.C., in a battle between the forces of the Thirty Tyrants and the liberators under Thrasybulus.

97. **vadit enim in**: see Crit. App. — **in . . . in**, *into . . . to*. — **paucis . . . Socrates**: 399 B.C. — **Plato**: sc. in the *Apology*, ch. 32.

41. **me . . . spes tenet**: equivalent to *credo*, *I believe*, and so followed by the present infinitive **evenire**. — **sine visis somniorum**, *without dreams and visions*. — **perpetuitas omnis . . . temporis**, *all coming time*.

98. **sin vera sunt**: anacoluthon; corresponding to **sive sensus**, etc., 97; we should expect either *sive migratur morte in*, etc., or *sive migratio est mors in*, etc. — **migrationem . . . mortem**: cf.

id multo iam beatius est. Tene, cum ab iis qui se iudicum numero haberi volunt evaseris, ad eos venire qui vere iudices appellentur, Minoem, Rhadamanthum, Aeacum, Triptolemum, convenireque eos qui iuste et cum fide vixerint! Haec peregrinatio mediocris vobis videri potest? Vt vero conloqui cum Orpheo, Musaeo, Homero, Hesiodo liceat, quanti tandem aestimatis? Equidem saepe emori, si fieri posset, vellem, ut ea quae dico mihi liceret invenire. Quanta delectatione autem adficerer, cum Palamedem, cum Aiacem, cum alios iudicio iniquo circumventos convenirem! Temptarem etiam summi regis, qui maximas copias duxit ad Troiam, et Vlixi Sisyphique prudentiam, nec ob eam rem, cum haec exquirerem, sicut hic faciebam, capite damnarer. Ne vos quidem,

sed quandam . . . migrationem, 27. — **beatius**: with causative force; cf. V. 62. — **tene . . . vixerint**: for the infinitive in exclamations, most common in Plautus, Terence, and Cicero, see A. & G. 274; Lane 2216; the whole sentence is summarized in the following **haec** and thus made the logical subject of **peregrinatio . . . potest.** — **qui . . . volunt**: the judges who had condemned Socrates without cause. — **Minoem . . . Aeacum**: see 10 n. — **Triptolemum**: Triptolemus was the favorite of Ceres, the hero of the Eleusinian Mysteries, and the inventor of the plow and agriculture. Because of these things and his fame as a just king the people of Attica associated him with the three fabled judges of the lower world. — **ut . . . liceat**: for this use of the subjunctive of proviso, see Lane 1964. With this passage cf. *de Sen.* 83 *neque vero eos solos convenire aveo quos ipse cognovi, sed illos etiam de quibus audivi et legi et ipse conscripsi.* — **Orpheo, Musaeo**: Orpheus and Musaeus were mythical poets and musicians of the pre-Homeric age. — **Palamedem**: Palamedes, son of Nauplius, king of Euboea, was unjustly charged with treason against the Greeks before Troy and stoned to death. — **Aiacem**: Ajax, son of Telamon, defeated by Ulysses in a contest for the armor of Achilles, became insane and slew himself. — **temptarem**, *I would test.* — **summi regis**: Agamemnon. — **Vlixi**: the Greek Odysseus, son of Laertes, and king of Ithaca. — **Sisyphi**: Sisyphus, a mythical king of Corinth, noted for his cunning, was killed by Theseus and condemned to spend eternity in rolling a stone up a hill. As soon as the top was reached the stone always rolled down again: cf. **Hor.** *Carm.* II. 14. 20.

iudices ii, qui me absolvistis, mortem timueritis. Nec 99
enim cuiquam bono mali quicquam evenire potest nec
vivo nec mortuo, nec umquam eius res a dis immor-
talibus neglegentur, nec mihi ipsi hoc accidit fortuito.
Nec vero ego iis, a quibus accusatus aut a quibus con-
demnatus sum, habeo quod suscenseam, nisi quod mihi
nocere se crediderunt.' Et haec quidem hoc modo; nihil
autem melius extremo: 'Sed tempus est' inquit 'iam hinc
abire me, ut moriar, vos, ut vitam agatis. Vtrum autem
sit melius, di immortales sciunt, hominem quidem scire
arbitror neminem.'

Ne ego haud paulo hunc animum malim quam eorum 42
omnium fortunas qui de hoc iudicaverunt. Etsi, quod
praeter deos negat scire quemquam, id scit ipse utrum
sit melius; nam dixit ante; sed suum illud, nihil ut
adfirmet, tenet ad extremum. Nos autem teneamus, 100
ut nihil censeamus esse malum quod sit a natura
datum omnibus, intellegamusque, si mors malum sit,
esse sempiternum malum. Nam vitae miserae mors
finis esse videtur; mors si est misera, finis esse nullus

99. cuiquam . . . quicquam: note the arrangement of words. — **hoc accidit:** his unjust condemnation. — **a quibus accusatus:** namely Anytus, Meletus, Lycon. — **nisi . . . crediderunt:** their base purpose, not the result of the deed to him, stirred his anger. — **extremo,** *than the close of his speech.* — **utrum,** *which of the two.* — **quidem,** *but.* — **hominem . . . neminem:** this adjectival use of *nemo* occurs especially in early Latin, and in Cicero; cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 566 *nemo homo;* Ter. *Ad.* 259 *homini nemini;* Lucil. XXIX *nemo sum homo; de Off.* III. 10 *nemo pictor; N. D.* II. 96 *nemo hominem homo; Tusc.* V. 63 *neminem poetam.*

42. ne ego: see 74 n. — **haud paulo:** litotes. — **de hoc:** Socrates. — **etsi:** corrective, *and yet;* in this sense *quamquam* is more common. — **utrum . . . melius:** explaining **id**; cf. same expression, above. — **suum illud,** *his well-known principle;* explained by **nihil . . . adfirmet.**

100. teneamus, *let us hold fast to this,* namely, **ut nihil . . . omnibus.** — **intellegamusque:** coördinate with **teneamus.** — **esse sempiternum: esse** is emphasized

potest. Sed quid ego Socratem aut Theramenem, praestantis viros virtutis et sapientiae gloria, commemoro? cum Lacedaemonius quidam, cuius ne nomen quidem proditum est, mortem tantopere contempserit ut, cum ad eam duceretur damnatus ab ephoris et esset voltu hilari atque laeto, dixissetque ei quidam inimicus: 'Contemnisne leges Lycurgi?' responderit: 'Ego vero illi maximam gratiam habeo qui me ea poena multaverit, quam sine mutuatione et sine versura possem dissolvere.' O virum Sparta dignum! ut mihi quidem, qui tam magno animo fuerit,
101 innocens damnatus esse videatur. Talis innumerabilis nostra civitas tulit. Sed quid duces et principes nominem, cum legiones scribat Cato saepe alacris in eum locum profectas unde redituras se non arbitrarentur? Pari animo Lacedaemonii in Thermopylis occiderunt, in quos Simonides:

by its position. — **finis . . . nullus potest**: sc. *miseriae* from **misera**, to correspond with **vitae miserae**, above. — **Theramenem**: see 96 n. — **cuius . . . nomen**: according to Plut. *Apophth. Lac.* p. 222, Thectamenes. — **ephoris**: the *ephori*, "overseers," five in number, elected annually from the citizens, formed the highest council in Sparta. — **Lycurgi**: the mythical lawgiver of Sparta, assigned to the 9th century B.C. — **sine mutuatione . . . versura**: *mutuatio* is borrowing in the ordinary sense, with or without interest, according to agreement; *versura*, *a turning* (of creditors), is used when a person is unable to discharge a debt at the stipulated time and borrows from a third person a sum sufficient for the purpose, thus making a change in creditors; translate, *without receiving aid or incurring debt*. — **ut . . . videatur**: following **dignum**, as if it were *tam dignum*. — **qui**, *since he*.

101. **sed quid . . . nominem**: cf. *sed quid . . . commemoro*, 100. — **principes**: see 34 n. — **scribat Cato**, etc.: sc. in his *Origines*; cf. *de Sen.* 75. — **Lacedaemonii in Thermopylis**: Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans were defeated and slain at Thermopylae (480 B.C.). — **Simonides**: see 59 n.; cf. Herod. VII. 228 for the original:

Ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
Κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

Dic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic vidisse iacentis,
Dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur.

[Quid ille dux Leonidas dicit? 'Pergite animo forti, Lacedaemonii; hodie apud inferos fortasse cenabimus.' Fuit haec gens fortis, dum Lycurgi leges vigebant.] E quibus unus, cum Perses hostis in conloquio dixisset glorians: 'Solem prae iaculorum multitudine et sagittarum non videbitis,' 'In umbra igitur' inquit 'pugnabimus.' Viros commemoro; qualis tandem Lacaena? 102
quae cum filium in proelium misisset et interfectum audisset, 'Idcirco' inquit 'genueram, ut esset qui pro patria mortem non dubitaret occumbere.'

Esto, fortes et duri Spartiatae; magnam habet vim 43
rei publicae disciplina. Quid? Cyrenaeum Theodorum, philosophum non ignobilem, nonne miramur? cui cum

— **dum . . . obsequimur**: the present with **dum**, *while*, is historical; for this use of the indicative in indirect discourse, see Lane 1995, where this example is cited. The meter is elegiac distich. — **[quid . . . vigebant]**: see Crit. App. — **unus**: according to Herod. VII. 226, Dienekes; according to Plut. *Apophth. Lac.* p. 225, Leonidas. — **Perses**: Herodotus says (VII. 226) a Trachinian (*i.e.* of Trachin in Thessaly).

102. commemoro: cf. the formula of transition *sed quid . . . commemoro*, 100. — **Lacaena**, *the Spartan woman*. — **pro patria mortem**: cf. *pro patria mori*, Hor. *Carm.* III. 2. 13.

43. esto, *be it so;* a concession on the part of a supposed opponent; implying that such devotion was to be expected of the brave and hardy Spartans. This form of transition prepares the way for a more striking example, **quid . . . miramur**. — **Spartiatae**: this is the classical form. — **Cyrenaeum Theodorum**: Theodorus (circ. 300 B.C.), the Cyrenaic philosopher, commonly called "the Atheist," having been banished from Athens went to Alexandria, where he served under Ptolemy, son of Lagus, and was sent by him as an envoy to king Lysimachus. The story is differently told at V. 117; cf. Val. Max. VI. 2. The time and

Lysimachus rex crucem minaretur, 'Istis, quaeso' inquit, 'ista horribilia minitare purpuratis tuis; Theodori quidem nihil interest humine an sublime putescat.' Cuius hoc dicto admoneor ut aliquid etiam de humatione et sepultura dicendum existimem, rem non difficilem, iis praesertim cognitis, quae de nihil sentiendo paulo ante dicta sunt. De qua Socrates quidem quid senserit apparet in eo libro in quo moritur,
103 de quo iam tam multa diximus. Cum enim de immortalitate animorum disputavisset et iam moriendi tempus urgeret, rogatus a Critone quem ad modum sepeliri vellet, 'Multam vero' inquit 'operam, amici, frustra consumpsi. Critoni enim nostro non persuasi me hinc avolaturum neque mei quicquam relicturum. Verum tamen, Crito, si me adsequi potueris aut sicubi nanctus eris, ut tibi videbitur, sepelito. Sed, mihi crede, nemo me vestrum, cum hinc excessero, consequetur.' Praeclare id quidem, qui et amico permiserit et se
104 ostenderit de hoc toto genere nihil laborare. Durior

manner of his death are unknown. — **Lysimachus**: king of Thrace. — **istis . . . ista**: see 51 n. — **purpuratis**, *courtiers*. — **quidem**, *but*. — **humine . . . sublime**: cf. Plut. *Moral*. p. 499 ὑπὲρ γῆς ἢ ὑπὸ γῆς; and Seneca *de Tranq*. 14. 2 *supra terram an infra*. — **admoneor ut . . . existimem**: a simpler form would have been *admoneor dicendum esse*, or *a. ut dicam*. — **sepultura**, *funeral rites*. — **rem non difficilem**: in apposition with the clause **aliquid . . . dicendum**; see Madvig 220 Obs. 3. — **nihil sentiendo**, *lack of consciousness; i.e.* the condition of the soul, if death ends all. — **in eo libro**: Plato's *Phaedo* p. 115 c. — **in quo moritur**: *i.e. in quo mors eius narratur*.

103. **Critone**: see *educi . . . custodia*, 71 n. — **vero**, *surely;* this passage is translated from the *Phaedo*. — **nanctus eris**, *shall accidentally find me*. — **mihi crede**: cf. 75. — **praeclare id**: sc. *a Socrate est dictum*. — **qui**, *since he*. — **de hoc . . . laborare**, *that he took no special interest in anything of this kind*.

104. **durior Diogenes**: sc. *fuit;* Diogenes of Sinope, the Cynic philosopher, lived to an advanced age and probably died

Diogenes, et is quidem idem sentiens, sed ut Cynicus asperius, proici se iussit inhumatum. Tum amici: 'Volucribusne et feris?' 'Minime vero' inquit; 'sed bacillum propter me, quo abigam, ponitote.' 'Qui poteris?' illi, 'non enim senties.' 'Quid igitur mihi ferarum laniatus oberit nihil sentienti?' Praeclare Anaxagoras, qui cum Lampsaci moreretur, quaerentibus amicis velletne Clazomenas in patriam, si quid accidisset, auferri, 'Nihil necesse est' inquit, 'undique enim ad inferos tantundem viae est.' Totaque de ratione humationis unum tenendum est, ad corpus illam pertinere, sive occiderit animus sive vigeat. In corpore autem perspicuum est vel exstincto animo vel elapso nullum residere sensum.

Sed plena errorum sunt omnia. Trahit Hectorem 44 105
ad currum religatum Achilles; lacerari eum et sentire, credo, putat. Ergo hic ulciscitur, ut quidem sibi videtur; at illa sicut acerbissimam rem maeret:

at Corinth about 320 B.C. — **quidem**: concessive. — **ut Cynicus**: see *ut Siculi*, 15 n. — **qui**, *how*; cf. 77. — **Anaxagoras**: Anaxagoras (circ. 500–428 B.C.), of Clazomenae in Asia Minor, spent most of his time in Athens, where he was the friend of Pericles and Euripides. He was finally banished to Lampsacus in Mysia, on a charge of impiety. — **si quid accidisset**: a euphemism for *si mortuus esset*. — **undique . . . est**: a proverbial expression; *the journey to the lower world is of the same length from every point*. — **totaque**: cf. *totumque*, 82. — **ad . . . illam**: *i.e.* the form of burial affects the body only. — **vigeat**, *lives*. — **in corpore . . . sensum**: the conclusion is to be supplied, namely, since this is true (**in corpore . . . nullum residere sensum**), therefore the form of burial makes no difference to the departed soul.

44. 105. sed . . . omnia: *i.e.* foolish superstitions in regard to the dead are widely prevalent. Striking illustrations follow. — **trahit**, etc.: cf. Hom. *Il.* XXII. 395 ff.; Verg. *Aen.* I. 483, 484. — **Achilles**: Achilles, son of Peleus and Thetis, and bravest of the Greeks before Troy. — **credo**: ironical. — **illa**: Andromache. —

Vidí, videre quód me passa aegérrume,
Hectórem curru quádriiugo raptárier.

Quem Hectorem, aut quam diu ille erit Hector? Melius Accius et aliquando sapiens Achilles:

Ímmo enimvero córpus Priamo réddidi,
Hectorem ábstuli.

Non igitur Hectora traxisti, sed corpus, quod fuerat
106 Hectoris. Ecce alius exoritur e terra qui matrem dormire non sinat:

Matér, te appello, tú, quae curam sómno
suspensám levas,
Neque té mei miseret, súrge et sepeli
nátum —.

Haec cum pressis et flebilibus modis, qui totis theatris maestitiam inferant, concinuntur, difficile est non eos, qui inhumati sint, miseros iudicare.

vidi, etc.: from the *Andromache* of Ennius. The measure is iambic trimeter with an anapaest in fourth place in the second verse. — **passa**: sc. *sum*. — **Hectorem**: the long *ō* in such Greek names belongs to early Latin; cf. II. 39 *Hectóris*, and see Varr. *L. L.* X. 70 and Quint. I. 5. 60. Hector, son of Priam and Hecuba, and husband of Andromache, was the bravest of the Trojans. — **raptarier**: archaic for *raptari*. — **Accius**: L. Accius (born 170 B.C.), "the link between the ante-classical and Ciceronian epochs," was known principally as a writer of tragedies. See 68 n. — **aliquando**: see 1 n. — **immo**, etc.: probably from the *Epinausimache* of Accius. The verse is trochaic septenarius; the first foot is a dactyl, **enim** having the second syllable short through the backward influence of the ictus **véro**.

106. **ecce alius**: Deiphilus, son of Polymnestor, the Thracian king, and Iliona, daughter of Priam, was killed by his father, by mistake, in place of Polydorus (son of Priam), who had been sent to the Thracian court to be brought up. — **mater**, etc.: from the *Iliona*, a tragedy by Pacuvius (220–132 B.C.). The measure is iambic octonarius, with three trisyllabic feet in the second verse; **mei** is read as a monosyllable. — **curam . . . suspensam**, *anxious care*. — **neque . . . miseret**: a continuation of the relative construction would require *et quam mei non miseret*. — **pressis**, *slow*. — **totis theatris**, *the entire audience in the theater;*

Prius quám ferae
Volucrésque —.

Metuit ne laceratis membris minus bene utatur, ne combustis non extimescit.

Neu rélliquias semiésas sireis dénudatis
óssibus
Per térram sanie délibutas foéde divexárier.

Non intellego quid metuat, cum tam bonos septenarios 107
fundat ad tibiam. Tenendum est igitur nihil curandum esse post mortem, cum multi inimicos etiam mortuos poeniuntur. Exsecratur luculentis sane versibus apud Ennium Thyestes, primum ut naufragio pereat Atreus. Durum hoc sane; talis enim interitus non est sine gravi sensu; illa inania:

Ípse summis sáxis fixus ásperis, evísceratus,
Látere pendens, sáxa spargens tábo, sanie
et sánguine atro.

the plural refers to repeated instances of this effect upon the audience. — **prius**, etc.: a continuation of the quotation above. — **metuit**: sc. *Deiphilus*. — **neu . . . divexarier**: the words of the ghost of Deiphilus to his mother Iliona. The second foot is an anapaest; **semiesas** is read as a trisyllable and **sireis** as a dissyllable. The second verse has a dactyl in second place. See Crit. App. — **sireis** = *siveris*, a frequent contraction in archaic Latin. — **divexarier**: see *raptarier*, 105 n.

107. septenarios: the verses are octonarii, or tetrameters. The confusion on Cicero's part may have arisen from the fact that the septenarius was also called tetrameter catalectic. — **fundat**: cf. *carmen . . . fundere*, 64. — **ad tibiam**, *to the accompaniment of the flute*. — **cum . . . poeniuntur**: sc. *in scaena;* to be closely connected with **tenendum est**. **poeniuntur**, archaic for *puniuntur*, is deponent. — **Thyestes . . . Atreus**: Atreus, son of Pelops, and king of Mycenae, to avenge a wrong inflicted upon him by his brother Thyestes, caused the two sons of the latter to be killed and served up to their father at a banquet. This story is recounted in the *Thyestes* of Ennius, from which the following quotations are taken. — **ipse summis**: sc. *Atreus;* trochaic octonarii, with two trisyllabic feet in the second verse. — **cui**

Non ipsa saxa magis sensu omni vacabunt quam ille 'latere pendens,' cui se hic cruciatum censet optare. Quae essent dura, si sentiret, nulla sunt sine sensu. Illud vero perquam inane:

Néque sepulcrum, quó recïpiat, hábeat portum córporis,
Vbi remissa humána vita córpus requiescát malis.

Vides quanto haec in errore versentur; portum esse corporis et requiescere in sepulcro putat mortuum; magna culpa Pelopis, qui non erudierit filium nec docuerit quatenus esset quidque curandum.

45 108 Sed quid singulorum opiniones animadvertam, nationum varios errores perspicere cum liceat? Condiunt Aegyptii mortuos et eos servant domi, Persae etiam cera circumlitos condunt ut quam maxime permaneant diuturna corpora. Magorum mos est non humare corpora suorum, nisi a feris sint ante laniata. In Hyrcania plebs publicos alit canes, optimates domesticos. Nobile

Aegyptia tellus
Claudit odorato post funus stantia saxo
Corpora, et a mensis exsanguem haud separat umbram.

se hic: note the grouping of pronouns. — **hic censet**: *Thyestes.* — **neque sepulcrum**, etc.: trochaic septenarii. — **recipiat**: used intransitively, as often in Plautus. — **putat**: sc. *Thyestes.* — **magna culpa**: nominative in apposition with the following clause; cf. 86 *negotium*; see Lane 1081. — **Pelopis**: Pelops, from whom the Peloponnesus was named, was the son of Tantalus, and king of Elis.

45. 108. sed quid . . . animadvertam: cf. *sed quid*, 100. — **condiunt**, *embalm*; cf. Herod. II. 86 ff.; Sil. XIII. 474–476

— **servant domi**: incorrect: the bodies were placed in tombs; the true practice is given in the quotation from Silius. — **Persae . . . condunt**: *i.e.* place the bodies in sealed tombs; cf. Herod. I. 140. — **Magorum**: the people of Media are here referred to and not the religious order. — **feris . . . laniata**: the dead bodies were exposed to dogs and birds of prey. —

autem genus canum illud scimus esse; sed pro sua quisque facultate parat a quibus lanietur, eamque optimam illi esse censent sepulturam. Permulta alia colligit Chrysippus, ut est in omni historia curiosus; sed ita taetra sunt quaedam ut ea fugiat et reformidet oratio. Totus igitur hic locus est contemnendus in nobis, non neglegendus in nostris, ita tamen ut mortuorum corpora nihil sentire vivi sentiamus. Quantum autem consue- 109
tudini famaeque dandum sit, id curent vivi, sed ita ut intellegant nihil id ad mortuos pertinere.

Sed profecto mors tum aequissimo animo oppetitur cum suis se laudibus vita occidens consolari potest. Nemo parum diu vixit qui virtutis perfectae perfecto functus est munere. Multa mihi ipsi ad mortem tempestiva fuerunt, quae utinam potuissem obire! Nihil enim iam acquirebatur, cumulata erant officia vitae, cum fortuna bella restabant. Quare si ipsa ratio minus perficiet ut mortem neglegere possimus, at vita acta perficiat ut satis superque vixisse videamur.

Hyrcania: on the south shore of the Caspian Sea. — **domesticos**: *i.e.* for private use. — **pro sua . . . facultate**, *according to his means.* — **a quibus lanietur**: cf. Sil. XIII. 473 ff.

Regia cum lucem posuerunt membra, probatum est
Hyrcanis adhibere canes.

— **Chrysippus**: a Stoic philosopher of Soli in Cilicia (circ. 280–206 B.C.). He settled in Athens and became the disciple of Cleanthes, the successor of Zeno. — **historia**, *inquiry, investigation.* — **locus**, *topic, i.e.* burial. — **in**, *in the case of.* — **in nostris**: *i.e.* out of respect for their memory. — **ita . . . sentiamus**: see Crit. App.

109. **dandum**, *conceded.* — **suis . . . laudibus**, *with its own merits.* — **vita occidens**: cf. the English "the evening of life." — **parum diu**, *too short a time.* — **perfectae perfecto**: note the juxtaposition. — **multa . . . fuerunt**: *i.e.* many things had happened which made death seem desirable for him, — the death of Tullia, his loss of political influence, and the civil war. — **obire**, *to take advantage of.* — **cumulata . . . officia**: *i.e.* he had fulfilled his duties as a citizen and had held the highest offices in the gift of the Republic. — **cum fortuna bella**, *conflicts with fortune.* — **minus perficiet . . . possimus**, *shall fail to enable us.* — **at**, *at least.*

Quamquam enim sensus abierit, tamen suis et propriis bonis laudis et gloriae, quamvis non sentiant, mortui non carent. Etsi enim nihil habet in se gloria cur expetatur, tamen virtutem tamquam umbra sequitur.

46 110 Verum multitudinis iudicium de bonis si quando est, magis laudandum est quam illi ob eam rem beati. Non possum autem dicere, quoquo modo hoc accipietur, Lycurgum, Solonem legum et publicae disciplinae carere gloria, Themistoclem, Epaminondam bellicae virtutis. Ante enim Salamina ipsam Neptunus obruet quam Salaminii tropaei memoriam, priusque Boeotia Leuctra tollentur quam pugnae Leuctricae gloria. Multo autem tardius fama deseret Curium, Fabricium, Calatinum, duo Scipiones, duo Africanos, Maximum,

— **suis et propriis**: cf. *propria ... et sua*, 70. — **bonis . . . gloriae**: see *mercedem gloriae*, 34 n. — **virtutem . . . umbra sequitur**: cf. *gloria . . . consequatur*, 91; III. 3 *ea* (*gloria*) *virtuti resonat tamquam imago;* Seneca *Ep.* 79. 13 *gloria umbra virtutis est; etiam invitam comitabitur.*

46. 110. verum: the adjective. — **quam . . . beati**: equivalent to *quam illi* (sc. *boni*) *ob eam rem* (sc. *quod eorum res gestae a multitudine laudantur*) *beati praedicandi sunt;* cf. III. 3 *ea* (*gloria*) *est consentiens laus bonorum, incorrupta vox bene iudicantium de excellenti virtute.* — **quoquo . . . accipietur**, *however this* (statement of mine) *shall be received, i.e.* whether it shall seem in logical harmony with the rest of his argument or not. — **Solonem**: Solon (circ. 638–558 B.C.), the famous Athenian lawgiver and one of the Seven Wise Men. — **publicae disciplinae**, *public administration.* — **Salaminii tropaei**: the victory at Salamis, 480 B.C. — **tropaei**: poetic for *victoriae.* — **Boeotia Leuctra**, *Boeotian Leuctra* (plural), to be distinguished from places of the same name in Laconia and Arcadia; the Thebans under Epaminondas defeated the Spartans at Leuctra, 371 B.C. — **Curium**: M'. Curius Dentatus ended the war with Pyrrhus by his victory at Beneventum, 275 B.C. — **Fabricium**: C. Fabricius Luscinus, consul 282, 278, 273 B.C., prominent in the war against Pyrrhus, 280–275 B.C. — **Calatinum**: see 13 n. — **duo Scipiones**: see 89 n. — **duo Africanos**: P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior, conqueror of Hannibal at Zama, 202 B.C.; Africanus Minor, who destroyed Carthage, 146 B.C., and Numantia, 133 B.C. — **Maximum**: Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, five times consul, twice dictator, surnamed *Cunctator* for his policy of avoiding open battle with Hannibal. —

Marcellum, Paulum, Catonem, Laelium, innumerabilis alios; quorum similitudinem aliquam qui arripuerit, non eam fama populari, sed vera bonorum laude metiens, fidenti animo, si ita res feret, gradietur ad mortem, in qua aut summum bonum aut nullum malum esse cognovimus. Secundis vero suis rebus volet etiam mori; non enim tam cumulus bonorum iucundus esse potest quam molesta decessio. Hanc 111
sententiam significare videtur Laconis illa vox, qui, cum Rhodius Diagoras, Olympionices nobilis, uno die duo suos filios victores Olympiae vidisset, accessit ad senem et gratulatus: 'Morere, Diagora' inquit; 'non enim in caelum ascensurus es.' Magna haec, et nimium fortasse, Graeci putant vel tum potius putabant, isque, qui hoc Diagorae dixit, permagnum existimans tris Olympionicas una e domo prodire cunctari illum diutius in vita fortunae obiectum inutile putabat ipsi. Ego autem tibi quidem, quod satis esset, paucis verbis, ut mihi videbar, responderam. Concesseras enim nullo in malo mortuos esse, sed ob eam causam contendi ut plura dicerem, quod in desiderio et luctu haec est consolatio maxima. Nostrum

Marcellum: see 89 n. — **Paulum**: L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, conqueror of Perseus of Macedon at Pydna, 168 B.C. — **Catonem**: Cato Maior, see 3 n. — **Laelium**: see 5 n. — **vera bonorum**: *boni* in the sense of *patriots*. — **molesta decessio**: sc. *bonorum est*; **decessio**, *loss*.

111. **Laconis**, *a Spartan*. — **Rhodius Diagoras**: Diagoras of Rhodes gained the prize in boxing at the Olympic games, 464 B.C. His victory was celebrated by Pindar (*Olymp.* VII). — **duo ... filios**: cf. Gell. (III. 15. 3), who says that Diagoras saw his three sons crowned at the Olympic Games on the same day and died from excessive joy. — **nimium fortasse**: sc. *magna*. — **Graeci putant**: cf. II. 41 (*Graecis*) *Olympiorum victoria consulatus ille antiquus videtur*. — **ipsi**: limiting **inutile**. — **responderam**: we should expect *respondere poteram*. — **concesseras ... esse**: cf. 14 *iam concedo non esse miseros*. — **consolatio**

enim et nostra causa susceptum dolorem modice ferre debemus, ne nosmet ipsos amare videamur. Illa suspicio intolerabili dolore cruciat, si opinamur eos, quibus orbati sumus, esse cum aliquo sensu in iis malis quibus volgo opinantur. Hanc excutere opinionem mihimet volui radicitus eoque fui fortasse longior.

47
112 *A.* Tu longior? non mihi quidem. Prior enim pars orationis tuae faciebat ut mori cuperem, posterior ut modo non nollem, modo non laborarem; omni autem oratione illud certe perfectum est, ut mortem non ducerem in malis.

M. Num igitur etiam rhetorum epilogum desideramus? an hanc iam artem plane relinquimus?

A. Tu vero istam ne reliqueris quam semper ornasti, et quidem iure; illa enim te, verum si loqui volumus, ornaverat. Sed quinam est iste epilogus? aveo enim audire, quicquid est.

113 *M.* Deorum immortalium iudicia solent in scholis proferre de morte, nec vero ea fingere ipsi, sed Herodoto auctore aliisque pluribus. Primum Argiae sacerdotis

maxima: sc. *nullo in malo mortuos esse.* — **ne . . . videamur**: cf. *de Am.* 10 *nihil mali accidisse Scipioni puto; mihi accidit, si quid accidit; suis autem incommodis graviter angi non amicum, sed se ipsum amantis est.* — **quibus . . . opinantur**; sc. *eos esse;* **quibus** for *in quibus.* — **excutere . . . radicitus**, *to pluck up by the roots.* — **longior**, *too diffuse.*

47. 112. The concluding chapters form the Epilogue and are intended to strengthen the belief in the mind of Auditor that death is not an evil. — **modo . . . modo**, *at one time . . . at another.* — **non nollem . . . non laborarem**, *not unwilling* (to die) . . . *indifferent* (about death). — **rhetorum epilogum**: *i.e.* such epilogues as the rhetoricians are accustomed to write. — **hanc . . . artem**: rhetoric. — **ornasti**, *you have honored, praised.* — **te ornaverat**, *had brought honor to you.* — **aveo . . . audire**: cf. 16.

113. solent: sc. the Greek rhetoricians. — **in scholis**: see 7 n. — **Herodoto**: Herodotus, born at Halicarnassus in Caria, 484 B.C., was the author of a history, in nine books, covering the period from 546 to 478 B.C. — **Argiae sacerdotis**: see Herod.

Cleobis et Biton filii praedicantur. Nota fabula est. Cum enim illam ad sollemne et statum sacrificium curru vehi ius esset satis longe ab oppido ad fanum, morarenturque iumenta, tum iuvenes ii, quos modo nominavi, veste posita corpora oleo perunxerunt, ad iugum accesserunt. Ita sacerdos advecta in fanum, cum currus esset ductus a filiis, precata a dea dicitur, ut id illis praemii daret pro pietate quod maximum homini dari posset a deo; post epulatos cum matre adulescentis somno se dedisse, mane inventos esse mortuos. Simili precatione Trophonius et Agamedes 114
usi dicuntur; qui cum Apollini Delphis templum exaedificavissent, venerantes deum petiverunt mercedem non parvam quidem operis et laboris sui, nihil certi, sed quod esset optimum homini. Quibus Apollo se id daturum ostendit post eius diei diem tertium; qui ut inluxit, mortui sunt reperti. Iudicavisse deum dicunt, et eum quidem deum cui reliqui di concessissent ut praeter ceteros divinaret. Adfertur etiam de 48
Sileno fabella quaedam; qui cum a Mida captus esset,

I. 31; the name is given by others as Cydippe or Theano; *Argiva* is more common than *Argia*. — **statum**, *regular, appointed;* from *sisto*. — **ius**, *a religious custom*. — **satis longe**: about 45 stadia. — **fanum**: the temple of Juno. — **perunxerunt . . . accesserunt**: the asyndeton indicates the haste of the youths. — **pietate**, *filial devotion*.

114. Trophonius et Agamedes: sons of Erginus, king of Orchomenus in Boeotia, legendary heroes of architecture, to whom many important buildings were attributed. — **Delphis**: Delphi, a city of Phocis, situated on the south side of Mt. Parnassus. — **ostendit**: *i.e.* by signs. — **post . . . tertium**: used like *postridie* with **eius diei** depending upon it. Plutarch in his version of this story (*Cons. ad Apoll.* 109) says the seventh day. — **iudicavisse**: that death is best for man. — **praeter ceteros**: Apollo surpassed the rest of the gods as a prophet.

48. Sileno: Silenus, a sort of Satyr, was the tutor and companion of Bacchus. He was represented as an inspired prophet and sage. — **Mida**: Midas, a fabled king of Phrygia, had received from

hoc ei muneris pro sua missione dedisse scribitur: docuisse regem non nasci homini longe optimum esse, proximum autem quam primum mori. Qua est sententia in Cresphonte usus Euripides:

Nam nós decebat coétus celebrantís domum
Lugére, ubi esset áliquis in lucem éditus,
Humánae vitae vária reputantís mala;
At quí labores mórte finissét gravis,
Hunc ómni amicos laúde et laetitia éxsequi.

Simile quiddam est in Consolatione Crantoris; ait enim Terinaeum quendam Elysium, cum graviter filii mortem maereret, venisse in psychomantium quaerentem quae fuisset tantae calamitatis causa; huic in tabellis tris huius modi versiculos datos:

Bacchus the power of turning everything he touched into gold. — **pro . . . missione**, *in return for his release.*

115. **Cresphonte**: *Cresphontes* is the name of a tragedy of Euripides, of which only a few fragments remain. The hero, Cresphontes, one of the Heraclidae and king of Messenia, was slain with his two sons by the nobles, because he favored the people. For the original of the passage here translated, cf. Nauck, Eur. fr. 452

Ἐχρῆν γὰρ ἡμᾶς σύλλογον ποιουμένους
Τὸν φύντα θρηνεῖν, εἰς ὅσ' ἔρχεται κακά,
Τὸν δ' αὖ θανόντα καὶ πόνων πεπαυμένον
Χαίροντας εὐφημοῦντας ἐκπέμπειν δόμων.

— **Euripides**: Euripides (480–406 B.C.), the Athenian tragic poet. — **nam nos**, etc.: translated from *the Cresphontes* by Cicero. The measure is iambic trimeter. Trisyllabic feet are found in all verses except the fourth. — **coetus celebrantis**, *gathering in great numbers.* — **ubi**, *in which*, referring to **domum**. — **exsequi**: *i.e.* follow the funeral train to the tomb. — **Consolatione Crantoris**: Crantor (fl. circ. 300 B.C.), of Soli in Cilicia, was a pupil of Xenocrates (on whom see 20). Crantor's work, Περὶ Πένθους, was Cicero's model for the *De Consolatione*; also see Intr. 26. — **Terinaeum . . . Elysium**: Elysius of Terina, a town on the west coast of Bruttium. — **psychomantium**: where the spirits of the departed are interrogated. — **ignaris**, etc.: for the verses here translated by Cicero, cf. Plut. *Cons. ad Apoll.* p. 109

Ἥπου, νήπιε Ἠλύσι', ἠλίθιοι φρένες ἀνδρῶν·
Εὐθύνοος κεῖται μοιριδίῳ θανάτῳ.
Οὐκ ἦν γὰρ ζώειν καλὸν αὐτῷ οὔτε γονεῦσιν.

Ignaris homines in vita mentibus errant;
Eûthynous potitur fatorum numine leto.
Sic fuit utilius finiri ipsique tibique.

His et talibus auctoribus usi confirmant causam rebus 116
a dis immortalibus iudicatam. Alcidamas quidem, rhetor antiquus in primis nobilis, scripsit etiam laudationem mortis, quae constat ex enumeratione humanorum malorum. Cui rationes eae, quae exquisitiùs a philosophis colliguntur, defuerunt, ubertas orationis non defuit. Clarae vero mortes pro patria oppetitae non solum gloriosae rhetoribus, sed etiam beatae videri solent. Repetunt ab Erechtheo, cuius etiam filiae cupide mortem expetiverunt pro vita civium; Codrum commemorant, qui se in medios immisit hostis veste famulari, ne posset adgnosci si esset ornatu regio, quod oraculum erat datum, si rex interfectus esset, victrices Athenas fore. Menoeceus non praetermittitur, qui item oraculo edito largitus est patriae suum

The measure is dactylic hexameter. — **potitur**: with short ĭ. — **fatorum numine**, *by the will of the fates.* — **finiri**: equivalent to *obire, mori.*

116. confirmant: see *solent*, 113 n. — **Alcidamas**: a Greek rhetorician of Elaea in Aeolis, a pupil of Gorgias and contemporary of Plato. — **quidem**: see 80 n. — **rationes**, *arguments.* — **exquisitius**, *with more care; i.e.* more refined arguments. — **repetunt ab**, *they go back to;* the subject is *rhetores* to be supplied from **rhetoribus.** — **Erechtheo**: Erechtheus, a mythical king of Athens. In a war against the Eleusinians his three daughters sacrificed their lives to bring victory to their country. — **cupide**: one was chosen in accordance with the oracle, the others insisted on sharing her fate. — **Codrum**: Codrus, the last king of Athens. The Dorian army encamped before Athens had been assured of success in battle by the Delphic Oracle if they spared the Athenian king. Codrus, disguised as a woodman, sought death at the hands of the enemy, and thus turned the response of the oracle in favor of the Athenians. — **adgnosci . . . esset**: after **adgnosci**, sc. *quod fieri potuit.* — **Menoeceus**: Menoeceus, son of Creon the Theban king, when Thebes was besieged by the Seven, took his life because Tiresias had prophesied success for the Thebans if

sanguinem. Iphigenia Aulide duci se immolandam iubet, 'ut hostium eliciatur suo.' Veniunt inde ad pro-
49 piora. Harmodius in ore est et Aristogiton; Lacedaemonius Leonidas, Thebanus Epaminondas viget. Nostros non norunt, quos enumerare magnum est; ita sunt multi quibus videmus optabilis mortes fuisse cum gloria.

117 Quae cum ita sint, magna tamen eloquentia est utendum atque ita velut superiore e loco contionandum, ut homines mortem vel optare incipiant vel certe timere desistant. Nam si supremus ille dies non exstinctionem, sed commutationem adfert loci, quid optabilius? sin autem perimit ac delet omnino, quid melius quam in mediis vitae laboribus obdormiscere et ita coniventem

Ares was pacified by the voluntary sacrifice of a descendant of the warriors that had sprung from the teeth of the dragon slain by Cadmus. — **Iphigenia**: Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, when about to be offered as a sacrifice to appease Diana (who was offended because Agamemnon had killed a stag in her grove), was rescued by the goddess and miraculously conveyed to the Tauric Chersonese, where she was made a priestess. — **Aulide**, *at Aulis*, a seaport in Boeotia, from which the Grecian forces set sail for Troy. — **ut . . . suo**: probably from the *Iphigenia* of Ennius. Bergk gives the line *ut hóstium eliciátur sanguis sánguine.* — **ad propiora**: nearer in point of time.

49. Harmodius et Aristogiton: Harmodius and Aristogiton conspired against Hippias, tyrant of Athens. Having slain Hipparchus, brother of the tyrant, they were put to death. After the overthrow of Hippias, they were looked upon as patriots and herces. — **in ore**: *i.e.* of the rhetoricians. — **Leonidas**: see *Lacedaemonii*, 101 n. — **viget**: *i.e.* live in fame. — **norunt**: sc. *rhetores.* — **magnum est**: equivalent to *difficile est, it would be difficult;* see 17 n. — **optabilis**: in the predicate with **fuisse**. — **mortes . . . cum gloria**: note the attributive force of the phrase **cum gloria**, equivalent to *gloriosas;* see *post mortem*, 16 n.; cf. *de Off.* I. 25 *cultus cum elegantia et copia*, equivalent to *cultus elegans et copiosus.*

117. cum, *although*, correlative to **tamen**. — **eloquentia est utendum**: see A. & G. 294 c. n. — **ita**: referring to **magna . . . eloquentia**. — **superiore e loco**: the tribune or rostra, *i.e.* with greater authority. — **supremus . . . dies**: euphemistic for *mors.* — **commutationem . . . loci**: cf. *quasi migrationem commutationemque vitae*, 27. — **obdormiscere**, *to fall asleep.* —

somno consopiri sempiterno? Quod si fiat, melior Ennii quam Solonis oratio. Hic enim noster

Nemo me lacrimis decoret inquit, nec funera fletu
Faxit!

At vero ille sapiens:

Mors mea ne careat lacrimis; linquamus amicis
Maerorem ut celebrent funera cum gemitu.

Nos vero, si quid tale acciderit, ut a deo denuntiatum 118
videatur ut exeamus e vita, laeti et agentes gratias pareamus emittique nos e custodia et levari vinclis arbitremur, ut aut in aeternam et plane in nostram domum remigremus aut omni sensu molestiaque careamus; sin autem nihil denuntiabitur, eo tamen simus animo, ut horribilem illum diem aliis, nobis faustum putemus nihilque in malis ducamus, quod sit vel a dis immortalibus vel a natura, parente omnium, constitutum. Non enim temere nec fortuito sati et creati sumus, sed profecto fuit quaedam vis quae generi consuleret humano nec id gigneret aut aleret, quod cum exanclavisset omnes labores, tum incideret in mortis malum

coniventem, *closing the eyes.* — **quod si fiat**: referring to the two preceding sentences. **nam si** and **sin autem**. — **oratio**, *the words.* — **hic . . . noster**: hic is used because Ennius is nearer in time than Solon; cf. Lucret. I. 117 *Ennius ut noster cecinit.* — **lacrimis**: Ennius probably used the older spelling *dacrumis*, for the alliteration. Plutarch (*Sol. et Publ.* 1) has preserved the Greek lines:

Μηδέ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισι
Ποιήσαιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς.

— **mors mea**, etc.: the elegiac distich; cf. *de Sen.* 73, where Cicero gives the true explanation of Solon's words, *volt, credo, se esse carum suis.*

118. **nos vero . . . arbitremur**: **horribilem . . . faustum**: note the chiasmus. — **a natura . . . constitutum**: cf. *de Sen.* 4 *qui autem omnia bona a se ipsi petunt, eis nihil malum potest videri, quod naturae necessitas adferat.* — **id . . . quod**, *that . . . which, i.e.* anv created being. — **exanclavisset**, *had endured to the end.* — **portum**:

sempiternum; portum potius paratum nobis et per-
119 fugium putemus. Quo utinam velis passis pervehi liceat! Sin reflantibus ventis reiciemur, tamen eodem paulo tardius referamur necesse est. Quod autem omnibus necesse est, idne miserum esse uni potest? Habes epilogum, ne quid praetermissum aut relictum putes.

A. Ego vero, et quidem fecit etiam iste me epilogus firmiorem.

M. Optime, inquam. Sed nunc quidem valetudini tribuamus aliquid, cras autem, et quot dies erimus in Tusculano, agamus haec et ea potissimum, quae levationem habeant aegritudinum, formidinum, cupiditatum, qui omni e philosophia est fructus uberrimus.

cf. *de Sen.* 71 *ut, quo propius ad mortem accedam, quasi terram videre videar aliquandoque in portum ex longa navigatione esse venturus;* notice the alliteration in **portum potius . . . putemus.**

119. **sin**: this is used when a second conditional period is opposed to the first. The first is here implied in **quo . . . liceat**, *i.e. quo si . . . liceat, optimum est, sin*, etc.: see Lane 2021. — **reflantibus ventis**, *contrary winds.* — **ego vero**: sc. *habeo.* — **aliquid**, *some time.* — **cras**, etc.: see Intr. 22, 23, 32–35. — **Tusculano**: see Intr. 16. — **agamus haec**, *let us consider these questions.* — **qui**: refers to the preceding clause, but takes its gender from **fructus.**

CRITICAL APPENDIX

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

Of the numerous Manuscripts (more than fifty) through which the *Tusculanae Disputationes* have come down to us, two easily excel all others in importance:

Codex Gudianus (G), of the ninth or tenth century, at Wolfenbüttel.
Codex Regius (R), of the ninth century, at Paris.

Next to these, in point of value, are the Bruxellensis (B), of the twelfth century, and the Vaticanus (K), of the ninth century.

The Gudianus and the Regius have been carefully collated and in the main agree. Their close resemblance, however, does not indicate that one of them was derived from the other, but that both have come from a common source. Internal evidence, in the form of interpolation and omission, warrants us in concluding that all the Manuscripts have descended from one codex.

The *editio princeps* was published at Rome by Ulric Hahn of Vienna, 1469. The second edition, fol., was published at Paris by Gering, Crantz, and Friburg, about 1471. Many others appeared in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The following editions are worthy of special mention:

Erasmus, Basel, 1525.
P. Victorinus, Venice, 1537.
D. Lambinus, Paris, 1566.
J. Davis, Cambridge, 1709, 1723, 1730.
F. A. Wolf, Leipsic, 1792, 1807, 1825.
J. C. Orelli, Zürich, 1829.
R. Kühner, Hanover, 1829; 5th ed., 1874.
Lemaire ed., Paris, 1830.
G. H. Moser, 3 vols., Hanover, 1836.
Baiter-Kayser, text, Leipsic, 1863.
M. Seyffert, Leipsic, 1864.
L. W. Hasper, Gotha, 1883.
Th. Schiche, text, Leipsic, 1888.
O. Heine, 4th ed., Leipsic, 1892–96.
Tischer-Sorof, 9th ed., Berlin, 1898.
C. F. W. Müller, text, Leipsic (Teubner series).

VARIANT READINGS

For a more complete *apparatus criticus* students are referred to the works of Seyffert, Kühner, and Schiche. The readings here given include the most important variants in the best MSS. and editions and the departures in this edition from the text of Müller.

In referring to editions, the following abbreviations are used:

Bt = Baiter-Kayser He = Heine Kr = Kühner Ml = Müller
Sc = Schiche Sy = Seyffert T-S = Tischer-Sorof 9.

1. 3 **annis fere** G R K edd *annis enim fere* B **[qui fuit . . . Naevius]** bracketed by Bt Ml He following Bouhier rejected by T-S retained by Sc Ennius was younger and not older than Plautus and Naevius. Therefore editors who retain the clause make **qui** refer to **Livius,** holding that such separation of the relative and its antecedent is not without precedent. The fatal objection to this explanation is the unnecessary ambiguity to which such an arrangement of clauses gives rise. Kühner's view that the clause was a marginal note intended to define more accurately the age of Livius is better. **si qui** B edd *sic qui* G R K

2. 4 **Polyclitos** some editors would read *Polygnotos* because Polyclitus was a painter; but Cicero probably wished to include both painting and sculpture. **ante annos** G R B K Ml and many others *ante annis* Bt

3. 5 **iis** edd *his* G R B **Carbonem** edd following Beroaldus *Catonem* G R B

4. 7 **scientia, copia** edd following Lambinus *scientiae copia* G R B K **docere** edd omitted G R B K **dedimus** edd following Muretus *operam dedimus* G R B K *operam inpendimus* Sy Sc (*imp-*) **possem** edd *possim* G R B K Sc

5. 9 **eruntve** G R B edd *eruntque* Sc 10 **amnem** Bücheler Ml *aquam* G R B Bt who includes *Tantalus* in the verse T-S He and others read *aqüam*

6. 12 **quid tandem** G R B Ml He Sc *qui tandem* Wesenberg Bt **tum** G R Ml Sc bracketed by Moser Bt omitted by Sy *tu* B **M** edd omitted G R B

7. 13 **mortui sunt** G R B Ml Sc *sint* Wesenberg Bt.

8. 15 **ecquid** edd *ecqui* G R B **haberemus in vita; nunc** the punctuation of Sy T-S Ml *haberemus; in vita nunc* Kr Sc *haberemus* [*in vita*] Davis Bt He **nihili** edd following Aldus *nihil* G R B **sed** edd following Manutius *et* G R B 16 **sed maiora molior**

Wesenberg T-S Ml He omitted G R B *sed etiam maiora molior* earlier edd *maiora molior* Bt Sc **mali nihil est, ne** edd following several inferior MSS *nihil est* omitted G R *mali* omitted B **post mortem** bracketed by Bt **aveo** edd *habeo* G R B

9. 18 **putent** edd *putant* G R B 19 **nostri (declarant nomina** Sy Ml Sc He *nostri declarant nomen* G R B *nostri—declarat nomen* Bt **et animosos . . . sententia** bracketed by Bt following Schutz

10. multo edd following Bentley *multi* G R B *nonnulli* Sy Sc 20 **esse, [verum] numerum** Tregder Bt Ml *esse, verum numerum* G R B *esse ullum, numerum* Sy Sc following Manutius and inferior MSS **animum** edd following Bentley *animam* G R B K **partes ei parere** Davis edd *partes separare* G R B K **suis locis** Bt Ml He Sc *locis* G R B *locis suis* Davis 22 **et tam multa alia meminisse** G R B K Ml Sc *et meminisse, et tam multa alia* He Bt *et tam multa* [*alia*] *meminisse* T-S

11. 24 **corpore** edd B (above eadem manu *tempore*) *tempore* G R K 25 **iam istuc** G R B Ml Sc He *nam istuc* Bt

12. 26 **si potes** bracketed by Bt following Cobet **docebis** bracketed by Bt following Cobet

13. 29 **hinc a nobis** Ml He following inferior MSS *hinc nobis* G R B T-S Sc *hinc* (*nobis* omitted) Bake Bt **tractari coepta sunt** Keil edd *tractari coepissent* G R B **cognoverant** edd *cognoverunt* G R B 30 **sit** B K edd *fit* G R *est* Madvig **aut consessus** Bt Ml He Sc following Bouhier *aut consensus* G R B K **effecit** Bouhier edd *efficit* G R B K

14. 31 **ait ille in** Ml He Sc following an inferior MS *ait in* G R B *ait Statius in* Bt following Beroaldus

15. 34 **panxit** edd *pinxit* G R B He **decoret . . . faxit** edd omitted G R B T-S Sc **poetas** edd *putas* G R B **nomen non** Ml following Ernesti *nomen* He Sc following Wolf *non* G R B **cum inscribere non liceret** bracketed by Bt 35 **arbitramur** edd *arbitrabimur* G R B K

16. 36 **quales sint** Bt following Keil *quales*[*que*] *sint* Ml The former is the better reading, for, as Heine suggests, we should expect either *ubi qualesque sint* or *quales sint qualesque sint* G R B Sc 37 **enim consessus** edd *enim consensus* B *consensu* G R **opertae ex ostio** Ml He Sc following Ribbeck *apertae hostio* G R *opertae ostio* B *aperto ostio* Kr *aperto ex ostio* Madvig Bt **altae** Klotz edd *alte* G R *alto* B **salso** G R B Ml Sc He *falso* Bt **imagines mortuorum** G R B Ml Sc He bracketed by T-S *mortuorum imagines* joined

to verse *altae . . . sanguine* Kr Bt 38 **sevocare** edd following Wesenberg and an inferior MS *revocare* G R B K **cum [honore] disciplina** Tregder edd *cum honore disciplina* G R B *cum disciplina* T-S Sc

17. 40 **isto** Wesenberg edd *ipso* G R B **an sicut** G R B Ml Sc He *sicut* Bt following Bentley 41 **est animus** B Bt *sit animus* Ml *animus* G R

19. 43 **iunctis** R^2 edd *iunctus* G R^1 B K **se** bracketed by Bt **tum . . . adeptus** Sy He Sc *cum . . . adeptus est* Ml Bt Bentley proposed *tum*, following an inferior MS (though *cum* was found in G R B K), and his reading was adopted by Davis Orelli and many others. *tum* and *cum* are easily confused. *cum* appears in G occasionally where *tum* is undoubtedly the correct reading. The context in this instance seems to point clearly to *tum*. *adeptus* instead of *adeptus est* is the reading of G R B K Bentley and many editors. 45 **patritam** edd following Nonius *patriam* G R B K

20. **delecti** B Ml Sc *dilecti* G R Bt He

22. 50 **aut** Lambinus edd *ut* G R B *et* Sc *at* He **vivo** edd following Bentley *uno* G R B 52 **quo monet** bracketed by Bt **tributum deo. sed** edd following Wesenberg *tributum a deo sit hoc se ipsum posse cognoscere. sed* G R B *tributum deo* [*sc. hoc se ipsum posse cognoscere*]. *sed* Ml A comparison of this passage with *de Fin.* V. 44 *quod praeceptum quia maius erat quam ut ab homine videretur, idcirco adsignatum est deo*, and *de Leg.* I. 58 *cuius praecepti tanta vis et tanta sententia est ut ea non homini cuipiam, sed Delphico deo tribueretur* led Wesenberg to reject the clause bracketed by Ml.

23. 54 **nec ex se** Macrobius edd *nec se* G R B K **natura et consistat** Macrobius Ml Sc *natura consistat* G R B Bt He **qua a primo** Macrobius edd *qua primo* G R B **ipsa [semper] moveat** Wesenberg edd *ipsam semper moveat* G R B K *ipsa moveat* Sc 55 **sum passus** Wesenberg edd *sim passus* G R B

24. 58 **enim ille putat** B edd *enim putat* G R Sc **est; ἰδέαν** Sy Ml Sc *sit, quam ἰδέαν* Bt following Keil 59 **hominum** edd *omnium* G R B K

25. 60 **animae** Bentley edd *anima* G R B K **ignisne** Lambinus Ml He T-S *ignisve* G R B K Bt Kr Sc (*num* before *animae*) 61 **excogitatio** G R B K edd *cogitatio* Ml apparently by mistake 62 **institiones** Manutius edd *institutiones* G R B K **animo** Lambinus Ml He Sc *animus* G R B K omitted Bt following Wolf

26. 65 **quidem** edd following an inferior MS omitted G R B K **[hoc]** bracketed by edd following Wesenberg

27. 67 **se ipse** K edd following Davis *ipsum ipse* G R B *se ipsum ipse* Sc *se* [*ipsum*] *ipse* T-S **suam. — quamquam fortasse** id edd following F. A. Wolf *suam fortasse — quamquam id* G R B K retained by Sc **motum, celeritatem** G R B K edd *motus celeritatem* Bt from conjecture of Bentley based on *celeritate motus* 70

28. 69 **deorum** edd following Bouhier *deorum eorum* G R *deorum eorumque* B

29. 71 **ne interire quidem** *quidem* inserted by Madvig whom edd follow

30. 73 **qui** [**cum**] Bt He T-S following Lambinus and Manutius *qui cum* G R B *qui* † *cum* Ml Sc reads *qui, cum*, but changes *ut* (G R B edd) before *aspectum* to *vel*. It seems better to bracket *cum* than to adopt the reading of Ml or Sc, for while it is found in G R B it is apparently needless. **ratio** Camerarius edd *oratio* G R B 74 **(leges enim vetant)** bracketed by T-S rejected by Sc

31. 75 **nec quicquam aliud** G R B K Sc **est mori** Bentley Sc *emori* G R B K *ecquidnam aliud est nisi mori discere?* Ml *ecquid aliud* Tregder Bt *est quam mori* Bt I have preferred to follow the MSS (except *emori*) 77 **contemnit** R Sc *contempnit* G bracketed by Ml and many editors following Wesenberg rejected by Manutius. There is no good reason for discarding the MS reading.

32. 78 **id non concedant** Ml He Sc following Madvig *idcirco non dant* G R B *id circumcidant* Bt

33. 80 **faciant** G R B *faciunt* Wesenberg Bt **dissimilitudines** Bentley edd *similitudines* G R B 82 **an ipse** Lambinus Bt He *an quoniam ipse* G R B *an quod ipse* Sy Kr Sc *an* [*quoniam*] *ipse* Ml *quoniam* of the MSS is probably due to *quoniam* in preceding clause 83 **quod** edd *quo* G R B *cum* Sc following Gulielmius 84 **in quo** Bentley Bt Sc *quod* G R B *quo* Ml He The MS *quod* is probably due to the fact that after *v in* fell out and *quo* was then changed to *quod*. The correction to *quo*, omitting *in*, seems incomplete.

35. 85 **honoratis** Bentley edd *honoratus* G R B **e** edd omitted G R B **ista vi** edd following conjecture of Petrus Crassus *ista vel* G R B **occidisset, talem** edd *accidisset; tamen* G R B 86 [**non liberi . . . possiderentur**] bracketed by Ml He T-S because it does not harmonize with the context either in meaning or form. *qui si . . . obisset* naturally follows *incidisset* rejected by Sc the reading of G R B Bt brackets only *non liberi defleti*

36. 88 **ita carere** Ml He Sc following H. Sauppe *carere* G R B † *carere* Bt

37. 89 **Litana** Lindemann edd *latina* G R B 90 **urbe nostra** edd following inferior MSS *urbem nostram* G R B

38. 91 **aut posteritatem** Ml He *ut posteritatem* G R B Bt *cum posteritatem* Sy **si se sic** *si* inserted by edd 92 **ne sui** edd *sues* G R B

39. 94 **homini** edd *hominis* G R B **parte, ita aut** Ml He Sc following Lambinus and inferior MSS *parte avita* G R B Bt reads *sunt, pro rata parte aut*

40. 96 **animis** Bt reads *animi* **enim in** *in* omitted G R 97 **vadit enim in** G R B Sc †*vadit enim in* Ml *vadit in* Bt He following inferior MSS

41. **cui si similis** *si* edd following Bentley 98 **iniquo circumventos** Bentley edd *iniquorum ventos* G R B

42. 101 **[quid . . . vigebant]** bracketed as a gloss by Bentley and many editors rejected by Bt Sc because the clause **e quibus unus** refers to **Lacedaemonii in Thermopylis occiderunt** and so would naturally follow the quotation **dic . . . obsequimur**

43. 104 **qui poteris** B edd *quid poteris* G R **in patriam** bracketed by Bt

44. 106 **suspensam** edd *suspenso* MSS **natum** — G R B Ml Sc *natum tuum* Bt He following Bentley **semiesas sireis** Ml Sc He *semiassi reis* G R *semiassis reis* B *quaeso meas sieris* Bt 107 **nulla sunt** edd following Tregder *sunt* omitted G R B

45. 108 **ita tamen . . . sentiamus** bracketed by Bt He following Wesenberg, on the ground that the same thought is expressed in 109 *sed ita . . . pertinere.* But the repetition may have been due either to hasty composition on the part of Cicero or to desire to lay special stress on this important point in his argument. 109 **quae utinam** Bt follows Davis in reading *quam utinam*

46. 110 **res feret** Lambinus edd *refert* G R B

47. 112 **oratione** B *ratione* G R **aveo** see crit. note on *aveo* 16 113 **Argiae** G R B Ml Sc T-S *Argivae* Lambinus Bt He **id illis praemii** Ml He Sy following Rath *illis praemii* G R *illis praemium* (in marg. *vel mii*) B *illis praemium* Bt

48. 115 **omni** edd following Davis *omnes* G R B 116 **rebus** G R B Ml He [*rebus*] Bt following Lambinus *re et verbis* Sc **Codrum commemorant** Ml He T-S Sc (*commemorant Codrum*) following Vahlen **commemorant** omitted G R B Bt **Codrum . . . Athenas fore** bracketed by Bt following Morstadt (*Mus. Rhen.* XVII p. 475 ff.)

49. 117 **ita velut** Bt following Wesenberg brackets *ita* 118 **in nostram domum** *in* omitted Wesenberg Bt 119 **omni e** *e* edd *in omni* B

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

[The numbers refer to sections of the text.]

L. Accius, 105.
Acheron, 10; Acheruns, 37.
Acherunsia [templa], 48.
Achilles, 105.
Aeacus, 98.
Aegyptii, 108.
Sex. Aelius Paetus Catus, 18.
M. Aemilius Lepidus, 5.
L. Aemilius Paulus, 89.
L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, 110.
Aetolia, 3.
Africanus (see Cornelius).
Agamedes, 114.
Agamemnon, 90.
Aiax, 98.
Albinus (see Postumius).
Alcidamas, 116.
Anaxagoras, 104.
M. Antonius, 10.
Apollo, 17, 52, 73, 114.
Appius (see Claudius).
Archilochus, 3.
Archimedes, 63.
Argia, 113.
Argivi, 45.
Argo, 45.
Aristogiton, 116.
Aristoteles, 7, 22, 41, 65, 70, 80, 94.
Aristoxenus, 19, 24, 41, 51.
Athenae, 116.
A. Atilius Calatinus, 13, 110.
Atreus, 107.
Aulis, 116.
Avernus, 37.

Biton, 113.
Brutus (see Iunius).

Cadmus, 28.
Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, 85, 86.
Calatinus (see Atilius).
Callimachus, 84, 93.
Camillus (see Furius).
Cannae, 89.
Capena porta, 13.
Carbo (see Papirius).
Caria, 92.
Cato (see Porcius).
Cerberus, 10, 12.
Chaldaei, 95.
Charmadas, 59.
Chrysippus, 108.
Cineas, 59.
C. Claudius Centho, 3.
M. Claudius Marcellus, 89, 110.
Ap. Claudius Pulcher, 37.
Clazomenae, 104.
Cleobis, 113.
Cleombrotus Ambraciotes, 84.
Cocytus, 10.

Codrus, 116.
Corinthus, 21.
P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior, 110.
P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Minor, 5, 81, 110.
P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum, 18.
Crantor, 115.
Crassus (see Licinius).
Cresphontes, 115.
Critias, 96.
Crito, 103.
M'. Curius Dentatus, 110.

P. Decius Mus (pater, filius, nepos), 89.
Delphi, 114.
Democritii, 82.
Democritus, 22, 42, 82.
Demosthenes, 10.
Deucalion, 21.
Diagoras Rhodius, 111.
Dicaearchus, 21, 24, 41, 51, 77.
Diogenes Cynicus, 104.

Elysius Terinaeus, 115.
Empedocles, 19, 41.
Endymion, 92.
Q. Ennius, 3, 27, 28, 34, 107, 117.
Epaminondas, 4, 33, 110, 116.
Epicharmus, 15.
Epicurei, 77.
Epicurus, 82.
Erechtheus, 116.
Etrusci, 89.
Euripides, 65, 115.
Europa, 45, 94.
Euthynous, 115.

Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, 110.
Fabius Pictor, 4.
C. Fabricius Luscinus, 110.
M. Fulvius Nobilior, 3.
M. Furius Camillus, 90.

Galba (see Sulpicius).
Ganymedes, 65.
Geminus (see Servilius).
Gracchus (see Sempronius).
Graecae litterae, 1.
Graeci, 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 15 (Graecus), 28, 41, 68, 74, 96, 111.
Graecia, 2, 3, 4, 29.
Graecia Magna, 38.
Graeculum, 86.

Harmodius, 116.
Hector, 105.
Hegesias Cyrenaicus, 83, 84.
Hercules, 28, 32.
Herodotus, 113.
Hesiodus, 3, 98.
Hippocentaurus, 90.
Hispania, 89.
Homerus, 3, 37, 65, 79, 98.
Q. Hortensius, 59.
Hypanis, 94.
Hyrcania, 108.

Ino, Λευκοθέα, 28.
Iphigenia, 116.
Isocrates, 7.
Italia, 38, 39, 86.
L. Iunius Brutus, 89.
M. Iunius Brutus, 1.
Iuppiter, 65.
Iuventas, 65.

Lacaena, 102.
Lacedaemonius, 100; Lacedaemonii, 101.
Laco, 111.
C. Laelius Sapiens, 5, 110.
Lampsacus, 104.
Laomedon, 65.
Latinae litterae, 1, 5.
Latini, 89.
Latini libri, 6.
Latinus sermo, 15.
Latmus, 92.
Leonidas, 116.
Lepidus (see Aemilius).
Lesbiaci libri, 77.
Leuctra Boeotia, 110.
Liber, 28.
Libya, 45.
L. Licinius Crassus, 10.
M. Licinius Crassus, 12, 13, 14.
P. Licinius Crassus, 81.
Litana, 89.
Livius Andronicus, 3.
Lucani, 89.
Luna, 92.
Lycurgus, 100, 110.
Lysimachus, 102.

T. Maccius Plautus, 3.
Magi, 108.
Marcellus (see Claudius).
Matuta, 28.
Maximus (see Fabius).
Menoeceus, 116.
Menon, 57.
Metelli, 13.
Metellus (see Caecilius).
Metrodorus Scepsius, 59.
Midas, 114.
Minerva, 34.
Minos, 10, 98.
Musaeus, 98.
Mytilenae, 77.

Cn. Naevius, 3.
Nasica (see Cornelius).
Neapolis, 86.
Neapolitani, 86.
Neptunus, 110.
Nobilior (see Fulvius).

Oceanus, 45.
Olympia, 111.
Orcus, 48.
Orpheus, 98.

Palamedes, 98.
Panaetius, 42, 79, 81.
C. Papirius Carbo, 5.
Parrhasius, 4.
Paulus (see Aemilius).
Pelops, 107.
Persae, 108.
Perses (hostis), 101.
Phaedrus, 53.
Pherecrates Phthiotes, 21.
Pherecydes Syrius, 38.
Phidias, 34.
Plato, 20, 22, 24, 39, 49, 53, 55, 57, 58, 63, 64, 70, 79, 84, 97.
Plautus (see Maccius).
Polyclitus, 4.
Cn. Pompeius, 12, 86.
Pontus, 45, 94.
M. Porcius Cato Maior, 3, 5, 101, 110.
M. Porcius Cato Uticensis, 74.
L. Postumius Albinus, 89.
Priamus, 85, 93, 105.
Ptolemaeus, 83.

Puteolani, 86.
Pyrrhus, 59, 89.
Pythagoras, 20, 38, 39, 49, 62.
Pythagorei, 38, 39.
Pythius (see Apollo).

Rhadamanthus, 10, 98.
Roma, 3, 90.
Romanus populus, 28.
Romulus, 3, 28.

Salamis, 110.
Scipio (see Cornelius).
Scipiones, 13, 89, 110.
Semela, 28.
C. Sempronius Gracchus, 5.
Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, 89.
Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, 5.
M. Sempronius Tuditanus, 3.
Servilii, 13.
Cn. Servilius Geminus, 89.
Siculus, 15.
Silenus, 114.
Simonides, 59, 101.
Sisyphus, 10, 98.
Socrates, 8, 53, 55, 57, 71, 74, 97–99, 100, 102.
Solon, 110, 117.
Sparta, 100, 101.
Spartiatae, 102.
Stoici, 77, 78.
Ser. Sulpicius Galba, 5.
Superbus (see Tarquinius).

Tantalus, 10.
L. Tarquinius Superbus, 38, 88.
Themistocles, 4, 33, 110.
Theodectes, 59.
Theodorus Cyrenaeus, 102.
Theophrastus, 45.
Theramenes, 96, 97, 100.
Thermopylae, 101.
Thyestes, 107.
Timaeus, 63.
Triptolemus, 98.
Troia, 98.
Troilus, 93.
Trophonius, 114.
Tuditanus (see Sempronius).
Tusculanum, 7, 119.
Tyndaridae, 28.

Vlixes, 98.
Venusia, 89.

Xenocrates, 20.

Zeno, Stoicus, 19.

INDEX TO THE NOTES

[The numbers refer to sections of the text.]

abesse ab, 26.
ablative, absolute with force of clause, 25; causal, 1, 24; of quality, 35; of source, 60.
abstract term for concrete, 36.
accido, 86.
accusatio, 1.
accusative, in apposition with a clause, 102; of anticipation, 56.
acies mentis, 45, 73.
ad, 68, 90; *ad elegantiora*, 62; *ad haec*, 41, 55; *ad id*, 7; *ad inferos*, 104; *ad iudicium capitis*, 71; *ad paris angulos*, 40; *ad tibiam*, 107; *ad tibicinem*, 3.
adferre, 70.
adfirmare, 60.
adjective, for adverb, 31, 44, 66; in predicate, 52; used absolutely, 11; used substantively, 9.
adoption, among the Romans, 31.
adsentiri, 16.
adulescens, 94.
advento, 95.
adverb, with participle used substantively, 78.
aemulari, cases with, 44.
aetas exacta, 93.
aeterna, 91.
agat et adsit, 46; *age*, 14; *agere animam et efflare*, 19.
alias, 70.
aliquando, 1, 105.
aliquid, 45, 119; *aliquis*, 82.
aliquot ante annos, 4.
aliud quicquam, 50.
alliteration, 85, 118.
alte spectare, 82.
amitto, 85.
an, 10, 14, 39, 87.
anacoluthon, 14, 30, 40, 56, 70, 75, 98.
anima, 19, 43.
animal, 54; *animalia et animantis*, 21; *animalis*, 40.
animus, 19, 20, 51.
Annales of Ennius, 3.
ἀντίχθων, 68.
antiquitas, 26.
antiquity of man, 9.
anus, 48.
Ἀποκαρτερῶν, 84.
archaic forms, 34, 69, 106, 107.
ardor animi, 42.
ars, 1, 7.
asyndeton, 31, 64, 77, 85, 113.
at, 109.
atqui, 93.
attraction, in case, 84, 85; in gender, 1; in mood, 37, 88.
aut, 5.
autem, 3.
aveo, 16, 112.
axe sub, 68.

baca, 31.
barbarica, 85.
beatius, 98.
bestiolae, 94.

caelum, 43, 60.
caerimoniae sepulcrorum, 27.
cano, 4.
capite damnatus, 50.
careo, 87, 90.
cascus, 27.
certe, 2, 9.
cetera, proleptic use of, 93.
chiasmus, 5, 118.
circus, figure from the, 15.
coetus celebrantis, 115.
cogitatio, 46.
cogito, 32.
commentatio mortis, 74.
comparatio compendiaria, 2.
compositio, 41.
concalefactam, 42.
conclusion, omitted, 104.
concretio mortalis, 66.
concursu fortuito, 22.
condio, 108.
confecta, 42.
confiteri, 16.
confundo, 23.
coniveo, 117.
conjunctions, use of, 95.
consequi, 36.
consignata, 57.
Consolatione de, 65, 76, 83.
constare tibi, 9.
contagio, 72.
contra, 50.
contractio, 90.
contueri, 45.
contumacia, 71.
copia = *copia dicendi*, 7.
cor, 18.
cornix, 77.
corona, 10; *coronati*, 86.
corpora quattuor, 40; *terrena*, 47.
corpuscula, 22.
cottabus, the game of, 96.
cultor deorum, 69.
cultus, 64.
cum, 3, 117.
cura suspensa, 106.
cur? nam, 94.
cygnus, 73.

death likened to sleep, 92.
decessio, 110.
declamatio, 7.
declamitare causas, 7.
declarare, 57.
defensio, 1.
delectatio, 6.
devium iter, 72.
dialogue, the Aristotelian, 16.
dies fastorum, 68.
diligentia, 31.
di maiorum gentium, 29.
diremptus, 71.
disciplina publica, 110.
disco, 39.
disertus, 10.
dissection of the body, 46.
divina, 56; *divina progenies*, 26.
doceo, 62; *docti*, 3, 5, 73.
domesticus, 72, 108.
domicilium, 24.
domui, locative, 51.
ductor, 89.

earth, position of the, 40, 68.
ecquid, 15.

efficio, 55, 77.
effingere, 61.
eleganter, 55.
embalming, 108.
ἐνδελέχεια, 22.
enim, implying an ellipsis, 11, 76, 78; position of, 8.
ἔννοιαι, 57.
ephori, 100.
epilogus rhetorum, 112.
ergo, 31.
errantia, 62, 63.
eruditio, 4; *eruditus*, 5.
esse, omission of, 13; *esse secum*, 75; *esse, to exist*, 11; *esse, treats of*, 24; *esse volt*, 57; *esto*, 102.
et = *et tamen*, 6, 92; *et non*, 13; *et . . . -que*, 4.
etsi, corrective, 99.
Euhemerism, 29.
euphemism, examples of, 104, 117.
evenio, 86.
evitari, 85.
exanclo, 118.
excutere radicitus, 111.
exquisitius, 116.
exsequi, 115.
ex tuo ore, 39.

fabulam dare, 3.
fac, 70; *facio*, 24, 73; conative use of, 92; *faxit*, 34.
faces corporis, 44.
facultas, 108.
familia, 55.
fatorum numen, 115.
finiri, 115.
flabile, 66.
fortuna bella cum, 109.
fraudes concipere, 72.
frequens, 37.
frustra, 21.
fundo, 64, 107.
funeral rites, violation of, 27.
future, 17, 26.

genitive, in place of ablative and preposition, 27; objective, 30; of definition, 34, 109.
geometrica quaedam, 57.
geram tibi morem, 17.
gerund, for gerundive, 43.
gloria umbra virtutis, 109.

habeo with perfect participle, 40.
haec for *hae*, 22; *hic*, 117.
historia, 108.
homoioteleuton, 32, 85.
honores, offices, 85.
honos alit artes, proverbial saying, 4.
humine . . . sublime, 102.

iaceo = *neglegor*, 4, 5.
iam, moreover, 2; *iam iamque*, 14.
id, repeating *illud*, 78.
ἰδέα, 58.
ideas, innate, 57.
igitur, position of, 4, 11, 13; resuming discourse, 30.
ille, well-known, 10, 34, 45, 85, 99; *illuc*, 75.
imagines mortuorum, 37.
imbutus, 14.
immo, 13.
immortalitas, 77.
imperative, with force of condition, 30, 94.
imperfect, for pluperfect, 27, 89, 90.

in, expressing result, 9; *in . . . in*, 97; *in . . . brevitate*, 94; *in eo genere*, 3, 7; *in epulis canere*, 3; *in omne tempus*, 91; *in primis*, 14.
inane, 21.
indicative, 17, 61, 83, 111, 116.
indigeo, 87.
inferi, 36.
infinitive, in exclamations, 98; with *ministro*, 65.
ingenium, 7.
instar, 40.
instituta vitae, 2.
integer, 41, 46.
intentio, 19.
intermissa, 1.
intersaepta, 47.
intervallum, 41.
inventor et princeps, 48.
iste, 10, 51, 93, 102; *istuc*, 16.
ita, 13; *ita . . . ut*, 92.
ius, 64, 113.

knowledge, Academic theory of, 23; Stoic, 61.

lautius, 2.
leti pallida, 48.
levis, 22, 42.
litotes, 40, 99.
locus, topic, 108.
longior, 111.

macte virtute, 40.
maereo, 30.
magnum = *difficile*, 116; *maximum* = *difficillimum*, 52.
male narrare, 10.
malum esse mors, 9.
mandare litteris, 6.
maturitas, 68.
medius fidius, 74.
melius est factum = *convaluit*, 86.
memoria, 59.
mens, 80.
mihi crede, 103.
minime vero, 10.
miserabiliter non, 96.
missio, 114.
mitto for *omitto*, 84.
modestia, 64.
modo, 94; *modo . . . modo*, 112.
molestus, 26.
momenta, 40.
mos vitiosus, 30.
motus, 19.
munus, 70.
mutuatio, 100.
mysteries, the Eleusinian, 29.

names, Platonic theory of, 62.
natura, 2, 22, 36, 41, 56, 65.
-ne, interrogative, 67.
ne, truly, 74.
ne . . . quidem, 11.
nec . . . et, 7; *neque . . . et*, 54; *neque* for *nec tamen*, 58.
negative, strengthened, 53, 66; subdivided, 60.
νέκυια, 37.
νεκυομαντεῖα, 37.
nemo non, 9; *nemo*, used adjectively, 99.
nervi, musical instruments, 4.
nihil for *nemo*, 5; *nihil negotii*, 16.
nomen, 87.
nominative in apposition with clause, 107.

non, 17; *non modo* for *non modo non*, 87, 92.
noscat se quisque, 52.
nostri, 19.
nudus, unarmed, 86.
nullus for *non*, 11.
number, key to universe, 20.
nuntii quinque, 46.
nutu, 40.

obdormisco, 117.
obire, 109.
opifices, 34.
orae locorum, 44.
oratio, 117.
orator, definition of, 5; for *eloquentia*, 5.
orators, the leading, 5.
oratory, aided by philosophy, 6.
orbitas, 87.
order of words, 99.
Origines of Cato, 3.
oritur occidit, 54.
orno, 112.

paronomasia, 95.
participle, with force of condition, 54; used substantively, 91.
parum diu, 109.
pateo, 29.
patrita, 45.
pendeo, cases with, 96.
perception, Stoic theory of, 61.
perpetuitas, 97.
per se, 37.
philosophia, defined, 1; *mater artium*, 64.
phrase, with attributive force, 66, 90, 116; with force of condition, 32, 48.
physica, 29.
pietas, 113.
plebeii philosophi, 55.
plenus, rhythmical, 64.
pleonasm, 43, 74.
plumbei, 71.
plural, 58, 106.
poets, the oldest Roman, 3.
ponere, 7.
portus, 118.
post tertium diem, 114.
praebibo, 96.
prava, 30.
primum, in a series, 68.
primus homo, 81.
principatus, 20.
principes, 34.
principia quattuor, 22, 42.
prius = *potius*, 16.
probabilia sequi, 17.
pronouns, grouping of, 10, 70.
pronuntiatum, 14.
propino, 96.
prorsus, 9, 10.
proxime, 19.
prudentia = *philosophia*, 7.
psychomantium, 115.
pugnantia, 13.
pulcher, 96.
purpurati, 102.

quam, malo, 76.
quamquam, corrective, 3, 93.
quamvis, 47.
quasi vero, 50, 92.
-que, adversative, 71; *and in short*, 64, 82, 104.
quid, for *quis*, 5; *quid igitur*, 61; *quid loquar*, 2; *quid refert*, 76.

quidem, adversative, 67, 99, 102; concessive, 6, 104; *for example*, 80, 116; restrictive, 1.
quippe qui, 21.
quod, clauses in apposition with, 44, 73.

ratio, 23, 36, 53, 73, 116; *Socratica*, 8; *ratio et disciplina*, 1.
ratiocinor, 5.
regiones habitabiles, 45.
remissa, 1.
repeto ab, 116.
res familiaris, 75.
respondere satis, 3.
retracto, 76.
rhetorical question, 67.
rursum, 40.

salsus sanguis, 37.
sane, concessive, 41.
sapiens, 17.
scatere, 69.
scholae, 7, 8, 83, 113.
scientia, 7.
sed eo, 90.
sentire, 30, 88, 102.
septenarii, 107.
sepultura, 102.
sero, used figuratively, 31.
servio, 35.
similitudo, 79.
sin, 119.
sine visis somniorum, 97.
siquidem, 54.
sireis, 106.
skepticism, of the New Academy, 40, 60.
soul, Epicurean theory concerning, 18; immortality of, 31; location of, 19, 70; Socratic theory, 18; Stoic theory, 18, 19, 42.
specimen naturae, 32.
spes tenet me, construction with, 97.
spinosiora, 16.
studiosus, 5.
subject, implied, 7; subject of indirect question made object of leading verb, 56.
subjunctive, causal, 12, 41, 54, 100, 103; for indicative, 84; hortatory, 85, 100, 119; of attraction, 37; of proviso, 38, 98; with *fore ut*, 82.
subtiliter conclusum, 55; *subtiliter satis*, 88.
sui similis, 43.
suscipio, 78.
Synephebi of Caecilius, 31.
synesis, 41.

tam praesens, 28.
tecta, *ceilings*, 85.
temperatio corporis, 68; *naturae*, 21.
templa, primary meaning of, 48.
tempora, *seasons*, 68.
tempto, 98.
tense, historical present, 101; sequence of tenses, 4, 9, 74.
transition, formula of, 102.
tropaeum = *victoria*, 110.
Tusculanum, 7.

ubi, 115.
ultra . . . quam, 17.
una ex omnibus, 54; *unum illud*, 27; *unus e multis*, 17.
usu venit, 73.
usura, 77.

ut, as for example, 19; concessive use of, 16, 23, 49, 82, 94; omission of, 42.
utor, 117.

valeo, 87.
vel, 54.
verbi causa, 12.
vereor = *puto*, 76.
vero, 82, 103.
versor, 80.
versura, 100.
vetera, 29, 33.
viae perforatae, 46.
videatur = *appareat*, 49; *vide ne* = *dubito an*, 83; *video*, 82; *videre animo*, 37; *viderit*, 23.
vigeo, 104, 116.
virtues, the four cardinal, 64; virtues most prized by the Romans, 2.
vis, 52, 54, 60; *vis eloquentiae*, 64.
visere, 44.
vita, 75; *vita occidens*, 109.

war, the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, 1.
word-couplets, Cicero's fondness for, 2, 50.

zodiac, the, 68.

M. TVLLI CICERONIS

SOMNIVM SCIPIONIS

Scipionem ipsum haec occasio ad narrandum somnium provocavit, quod longo tempore se testatus est silentio condidisse. Cum enim Laelius quereretur nullas Nasicae statuas in publico in interfecti tyranni remunerationem locatas, respondit Scipio post alia in haec verba: Sed quamquam sapientibus conscientia ipsa factorum egregiorum amplissimum virtutis est praemium, tamen illa divina virtus non statuas plumbo inhaerentes nec triumphos arescentibus laureis, sed stabiliora quaedam et viridiora praemiorum genera desiderat. Quae tandem ista sunt, inquit Laelius? Tum Scipio: Patimini me, quoniam tertium diem iam feriati sumus, *et cetera, quibus ad narrationem somnii venit docens illa esse stabiliora et viridiora praemiorum genera, quae ipse vidisset in caelo bonis rerum publicarum servata rectoribus.*

Macrob. *Som. Scip.* I. 4. 2, 3.

INTRODUCTION

THE DE REPVBLICA

1. Cicero wrote the *De Republica*, of which the *Somnium Scipionis* forms the conclusion, at his villa near Cumae, 54 B.C., — almost ten years before he published his works in speculative and moral philosophy. The incidents of composition, including time, place, and source of material, can be readily gathered from allusions in his correspondence and other works. In a letter to his brother Quintus, May, 54 B.C., he hints at the pleasures and the difficulties of his task and announces his intention of consigning his book to the sea if it fails to meet his ideal and justify the time and labor spent upon it. Cf. *ad Quint.* II. 12. 1 *Ego me in Cumano . . . oblectabam. . . . Scribebam illa quae dixeram* πολιτικά, *spissum sane opus et operosum; sed, si ex sententia successerit bene erit opera posita, sin minus, in illud ipsum mare deiciemus quod spectantes scribimus, aggrediemur alia, quoniam quiescere non possumus.* The general scope of the *De Republica* and the separate topics of discussion are concisely stated in the Tusculan Disputations: *de moribus institutisque maiorum et disciplina ac temperatione civitatis . . . aliis haec locis satis accurate a nobis dicta sunt maximeque in iis sex libris quos de re publica scripsimus* (IV. 1). Cicero's natural tastes led him to investigate the theory and foundation of the state and to study the history and development of civil government. His experience in public office and his familiarity with the political writings of Plato, Aristotle,

Theophrastus, and the Peripatetics aided him materially in presenting the results of his studies in the form of a practical and systematic treatise. Cf. *de Div.* II. 3 *Atque his libris adnumerandi sunt sex de re publica, quos tum scripsimus cum gubernacula rei publicae tenebamus. Magnus locus philosophiaeque proprius a Platone, Aristotele, Theophrasto totaque Peripateticorum familia tractatus uberrime.*

2. Plato's Republic, generally conceded to be his best work, furnished the model for Cicero, as it has likewise done for many writers on kindred subjects in later times. But while Cicero was indebted to the founder of the Academy for both inspiration and subject-matter, he nevertheless departed from Plato's plan in one important particular: he considered the state not as an ideal community, but as it was revealed to him in the records of history and as he actually found it in his own experience. The Roman commonwealth formed the basis of his discussion, and not the perfect state to be realized only in the Golden Age of the future. Cf. *de Repub.* II. 3 *Facilius autem, quod est propositum, consequar, si nostram rem publicam vobis et nascentem et crescentem et adultam et iam firmam atque robustam ostendero, quam si mihi aliquam, ut apud Platonem Socrates, ipse finxero.* Cicero's plan had the merit of naturalness and made possible the introduction of facts and impressions acquired through actual contact with the problems of government. To the entire treatise the semblance of reality is given by the dialogue form, borrowed, as in all of Cicero's philosophical writings, from the Greeks. The views expressed and the counsel given seem to come from the lips of living men who have themselves had a share in the making of their country's history. The discussion is represented as having taken place during the Latin holidays in the winter of 129 B.C., in the grounds of the home of Scipio Africanus Minor. The host leads in the debate,

while gathered about him is a company of congenial companions, including Laelius, his most devoted friend, the consul Manilius, Mucius Scaevola, the augur, Fannius, son-in-law of Laelius, Quintus Tubero, Furius Philus, Spurius Mummius, brother of Achaicus, and Rutilius Rufus. These men differed much in age and experience, but ranked among the best citizens of the commonwealth, either by virtue of their personal achievements or in consequence of the distinguished history of the families to which they belonged. Five attained the consulship. The discussion of the state continues for three days. So successful is Cicero in carrying out the illusion in his dialogues that at times it is difficult for the reader to remember that the scenes are purely imaginary.

3. That the six books of the *De Republica* contained valuable material on the general subject of political science cannot be doubted, but the greater portion of the work was lost, probably early in the Middle Ages, and for a long time, with the exception of Scipio's Dream, only brief fragments were known to be in existence. But in 1820 Angelo Mai discovered in the Vatican Library a palimpsest of great age (probably of the fourth or fifth century) which contains, underneath a commentary on the Psalms by St. Augustine, about one third of the missing portions of the *De Republica.* As a result of this remarkable find, the *editio princeps* was published by Mai at Rome, 1822. A more complete and fully annotated edition of all the fragments, including Mai's find, was prepared by Moser and Creuzer and published at Frankfort, 1826. This edition has been the storehouse from which modern editors have largely drawn.

THE SOMNIVM SCIPIONIS

4. The Dream of Scipio was saved from the fate which overtook the greater part of the *De Republica.* Although it forms, as we have already seen, merely an episode in the work, it has had to a large degree a separate and distinct history. Its impressive character and striking form early attracted attention and caused it to be reproduced in independent editions. The preservation of the Dream to our day is due to the antiquarian Macrobius, of the early part of the fifth century, who wrote an elaborate commentary upon it in two books. The text of the *Somnium* was appended to this commentary and has come down to us in various manuscripts of Macrobius' works. The most important are the Paris (P) of the eleventh century, the Bamberg (B) of the same period, and several at Munich of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The text of the Dream is not in the Vatican palimpsest. The introduction to the commentary of Macrobius includes a comparison of the two works of Cicero and Plato and a discussion of the use of fables and the significance of dreams. In the main body of the exposition the author selects special passages of the *Somnium* and comments upon them, often at great length, especially on the subject of "perfect numbers," the movements of the heavenly bodies, and the immortality of the soul. In this way he introduces many facts and speculations, some of which are interesting and ingenious, while others seem to be forced upon the text. Favonius Eulogius, a pupil of St. Augustine, prepared a somewhat similar exposition, though not of very great value. There is also a Greek translation of the fourteenth century by Maximus Planudes.

5. Scipio is prompted to relate his Dream, as the closing part of the discussion, by the complaint of Laelius

that no statue or public memorial had been erected in honor of Scipio Nasica in return for his courageous and patriotic service in leading the attack on Tiberius Gracchus. To this criticism Scipio replies that while the consciousness of honorable service is a sufficient reward to the wise, yet their virtue deserves something more enduring than statues and the fading laurels of a triumph. In illustration of the higher reward in store for all who have deserved well of their country he makes known the marvelous things revealed to him in the Dream, which he had long kept "buried in silence" (cf. Macrobius, *Som. Scip.* I. 4. 2).

6. In making this episode the conclusion of his treatise Cicero had in mind the story of Er, son of Armenius, as related in the tenth book of Plato's Republic. But in this, as elsewhere, he followed his model in his own way and not as a mere imitator or translator. Er was slain in battle. On the twelfth day afterward, when the body had been placed on the funeral pyre, he suddenly returned to life and revealed what he had seen in the other world, "the just ascending the heavenly way to their reward, the unjust descending to the place of punishment." Plato resorted to the fabulous and miraculously restored the dead to life. Cicero adopts a more natural plan and is thereby more effective. The Romans, like the Greeks, the Hebrews, and in fact all the nations of antiquity, had a superstitious veneration for dreams, believing that they are often sent by the gods and that the mind has greater freedom of action and clearer vision in sleep than when hampered by the material and corruptible body. Cf. *de Div.* I. 129 *sic animi hominum cum somno soluti vacant corpore . . . cernunt ea quae permixti cum corpore animi videre non possunt.* Cicero's good taste in preferring the dream to any other less human and less natural method of revelation, and his selection of

Paulus and the Scipios as the characters in the dialogue, have been deservedly commended by the critics. The elder Africanus, preëminent in Roman annals as the conqueror of Rome's most implacable and most dreaded foe, was the one best qualified to recount the rewards which follow devotion to country and faithful service in her defense. With equal fitness the younger Scipio is made to see in a vision the shades of Paulus and Africanus and from them to learn the character of the future life.

7. By the nature of his theme Cicero was at times drawn away from plain matter-of-fact speech to the diction of the poet or the animated style of the orator. Apt figures and vivid descriptions give life and brilliancy to the composition, while poetic words and fanciful imagery adorn the sentiments and enhance the beauty of the whole. "Hardly from the lips of Vergil himself does the noble Latin speech issue with a purer or more majestic flow." (Mackail, *Lat. Lit.* p. 71.)

8. But as a philosophical work the Dream is intended to be practical in character and not merely graceful in style or profound in argument. It is an inspiration to humanity rather than a logical treatise to convince the critical searcher for truth. Although naturally inclined to the skepticism of the New Academy, yet on the vital question of the soul's immortality Cicero here, and again in the Tusculan Disputations and in the *Cato Maior*, accepts Plato's conclusions and utters no uncertain words: "Be assured that for all who have aided their country there is a place in heaven where they shall enjoy an eternity of happiness" (5). In this, as in his other philosophical writings, Cicero had a threefold object in mind: to instruct and inspire the young, to encourage citizens in the performance of their public duties, and to give comfort and solace *to the aged* and distressed. Throughout the Dream two

thoughts are uppermost, the reality of the heavenly life and the way to its attainment. Every citizen, whether he receives the earthly reward that is his due or not, must be ready with singleness of purpose to defend the good name and guard the well-being of his country. To modern thought the chief value of Scipio's Dream lies in the fact that Cicero echoes the belief of Socrates and Plato and likewise the ultimate conclusion of the best thinkers of pagan antiquity, that if a man dies, he shall live again.

SCIPIO AFRICANVS MINOR

9. Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Minor was born 185 B.C. His father, Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Perseus of Macedon at Pydna, 168 B.C., was a man of ability and integrity, holding the highest positions in the state and maintaining therein a reputation above reproach. Descended from the best stock and adopted into the Cornelian *gens* by the son of the elder Africanus, the young Scipio early displayed the rare qualities that made him in the full maturity of his powers the foremost citizen of his time. His military experience began under his father at Pydna. His fame as a commander rests upon the successful completion of the Third Punic War and the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C. Later, in his second consulship, 133 B.C., he won additional laurels by the overthrow of Numantia in Spain.

10. Scipio's talents, however, were not alone those of the camp or the senate-house. In literature and philosophy he was both an earnest student and a wise and generous patron. Among his intimate friends and companions were Polybius, Panaetius, Lucilius, and Terence, while associated with him in the Scipionic circle were many of the most cultured citizens of Rome. First among his admirers

and bound to him by the closest ties of friendship stood Gaius Laelius, chosen by Cicero in the *De Amicitia* to expound the principles and rules of friendship and to portray the public and private virtues of Scipio, the model friend.

11. The circumstances surrounding the death of Scipio, 129 B.C., have always been shrouded in mystery. He had been the acknowledged leader of the opposition to the agrarian laws of Tiberius Gracchus. Even the violent death of the latter he had declared justifiable. But the act which aroused the anger of the Gracchan party most strongly was a decree of the senate, proposed by Scipio, amounting practically to a nullification of all the recent legislation on the public lands. The supervision of the public domain was to be taken out of the hands of the commissioners who had been appointed under the reform laws and given to the consuls. On the last day of his life Scipio addressed the senate in defense of his acts and announced his policy in reference to the agrarian laws. At evening he was conducted home in triumph by the senators and wealthy landholders whose interests he had defended. On the following morning his dead body was found lying on his couch. The popular party was charged with his death, and suspicion rested upon his wife Sempronia, who was the sister of Tiberius Gracchus, and upon the commissioners, Fulvius, Carbo, and Gaius Gracchus. The case against Carbo was the strongest, but the complete story of Scipio's death has never come to light. His brilliant career and tragic end lend impressiveness and dramatic coloring to the Dream.

ARGUMENT OF SCIPIO'S DREAM

ANALYSIS

I. *Introduction*

1. Scipio's visit to king Masinissa.
2. Conversation concerning the elder Africanus.
3. Africanus appears to Scipio in a dream.

II. *Discussion*

1. Scipio's future honors:
   - *a.* Conquest of Carthage.
   - *b.* Overthrow of Numantia.
   - *c.* Dictatorship, if he escapes the plots of his kindred.
2. Incentives to patriotism:
   - *a.* An eternity of joy in the future world.
   - *b.* The true life is the life after death.
   - *c.* Justice, natural affection, and devotion to country prepare one for this eternal life.
3. The wonders of the universe:
   - *a.* The outlook from the milky way.
   - *b.* The nine spheres, the planets, and the stars.
   - *c.* The music of the spheres.
4. Earthly fame should be lightly esteemed:
   - *a.* It is limited to a small part of the earth and to a brief time.
   - *b.* A noble life is better than human glory.
   - *c.* The soul is divine, without beginning, and immortal.

III. *Conclusion*

At death the soul of the just returns to its celestial abode; the spirits of the base wander about the earth until purified after long lapse of time.

Summary

1. Scipio went to Africa to serve as military tribune under Manilius and there visited king Masinissa. Their conversation was chiefly about the elder Africanus. Wearied with his journey, Scipio fell into a deep sleep and dreamed that he saw Africanus.

2. From the milky way Africanus points out Carthage and foretells its destruction by Scipio, for whom he predicts still further honors and success in the Numantine war. When Scipio reaches the age of fifty-six, if he escapes death at the hands of his kinsmen, he is to be made dictator and restore order to the state.

3. The true patriot shall have a sure and eternal reward. Just and upright rulers come from heaven and thither their spirits return at death. The true life is the life after death. Scipio sees his father Paulus and learns from him that man should live out his allotted time on earth and not desert the post of duty. Justice and piety open the way to heaven. Scipio, from his vantage-point, now sees how small the earth really is in comparison with the heavenly bodies.

4. Africanus urges Scipio to withdraw his gaze from the earth and fix it on the sky, and explains to him the nature and movements of the nine spheres which contain the planets and stars with the earth as the center.

5. Scipio is astonished at all he sees about him and charmed by the music of the spheres. Africanus explains the cause and nature of this music. Men imitate the seven

notes on stringed instruments and with the voice. The mortal ear cannot perceive the music of the spheres.

6. Africanus again urges Scipio to lift his eyes from earth to heaven and shows him the narrow limits within which human fame is contained. The earth is occupied only in spots, as it were. Of the five zones but two are suitable for habitation. Although the earth is a mere island in the sea, yet the fame of men does not reach to its remotest limits.

7. Future fame is limited in time by the impending destruction of the world through flood and fire. A man's fame cannot be known to those who have lived before him, nor will it endure through one *great year.* The *great year* is equal to many thousand ordinary years. Disregarding the praises of men, one should seek for the lasting rewards of an upright life.

8. Scipio, having from boyhood emulated the virtues of Paulus and Africanus, pledges himself to strive still more earnestly for the patriot's reward. Africanus declares that the body alone is mortal, the soul divine. As the supreme god rules the universe, so the soul controls the body. Plato's argument for the immortality of the soul, based upon the soul's self-activity.

9. The conclusion of Plato's argument. Africanus urges Scipio to devote himself to noble deeds, that at death his soul may pass at once to its eternal home. The spirits of men who have surrendered themselves wholly to base passions reach heaven only after a long lapse of time and severe punishment. "He vanished; I awoke from my dream."

M. TVLLI CICERONIS

SOMNIVM SCIPIONIS

Cum in Africam venissem M'. Manilio consuli ad 1 1
quartam legionem tribunus, ut scitis, militum, nihil mihi fuit potius quam ut Masinissam convenirem regem, familiae nostrae iustis de causis amicissimum. Ad quem ut veni, complexus me senex conlacrimavit aliquantoque post suspexit ad caelum et 'Grates' inquit 'tibi ago,

1. 1. cum . . . venissem: at the beginning of the Third Punic War, 149 B.C. At the close of this war, 146 B.C., the territory of Carthage (modern Tunis) was organized as the Roman province of Africa. — **M'. Manilio consuli**: Manius Manilius, consul 149 B.C., with his colleague Censorinus had command of the Roman forces during the first year of the war, but made very little progress toward the final reduction of Carthage. Manilius was "a man of the forum rather than of the camp." Cicero introduces him as one of the speakers in the *De Republica*. For the dative (**consuli** with **tribunus**) showing the relation in which one person stands to another, see Madvig 241 Obs. 4. — **ad . . . legionem**: for this use of *ad* where we should expect *apud*, cf. Caes. *B. G.* V. 53 *ad exercitum manere*. — **nihil . . . potius quam**, *I desired nothing more than*. — **Masinissam**: Masinissa, king of Numidia, in the first part of the Second Punic War aided the Carthaginians against the Romans in Spain, but in 204 B.C. he became the ally of the Romans under Scipio in Africa. From this time until his death, at the age of 90, 148 B.C., Masinissa remained a firm friend of the Romans and a treacherous and vindictive foe of the Carthaginians. — **iustis . . . amicissimum**: in the battle of Zama, at the close of the Second Punic War, 202 B.C., Masinissa commanded a division of Roman cavalry. In the treaty of peace which followed he was recognized as king of all Numidia, including both his hereditary kingdom and the greater part of the dominions of Syphax, a former ally of Carthage. — **conlacrimavit**, *wept copiously*. — **suspexit ad caelum**: for the omission of *ad* with *suspicio*, cf. *Tusc.* I. 62 *astra suspeximus*. — **grates**: used instead of *gratias*, especially in *giving thanks*

summe Sol, vobisque, reliqui Caelites, quod, ante quam ex hac vita migro, conspicio in meo regno et his tectis P. Cornelium Scipionem, cuius ego nomine ipso recreor; itaque numquam ex animo meo discedit illius optimi atque invictissimi viri memoria.' Deinde ego illum de suo regno, ille me de nostra re publica percontatus est, multisque verbis ultro citroque habitis ille nobis consumptus est dies.

2 Post autem apparatu regio accepti sermonem in multam noctem produximus, cum senex nihil nisi de Africano loqueretur omniaque eius non facta solum sed etiam dicta meminisset. Deinde, ut cubitum discessimus, me et de via fessum et qui ad multam noctem vigilassem artior quam solebat somnus complexus est. Hic mihi (credo equidem ex hoc quod eramus locuti; fit enim fere ut cogitationes sermonesque nostri pariant aliquid in

to the gods. — **reliqui Caelites**: the moon and stars; **Caelites** is a poetic word. Moser thinks **grates . . . Caelites** a quotation from some poet. Cf. Lact. *Inst.* II. 5 *sed quid mirum, si aut barbari, aut imperiti homines errant, cum etiam philosophi Stoici in eadem sint opinione ut omnia caelestia quae moventur in deorum numero habenda esse censeant; siquidem Lucilius Stoicus apud Ciceronem sic loquitur* (cf. *N. D.* II. 54). — **ex . . . vita migro**: cf. *ex . . . vita migrandum*, 7. — **P. Cornelium Scipionem**: see Intr. 9–11. — **itaque . . . discedit**, *is so constantly in my mind.* The Lemaire edition and some others read *ita*. Meissner regards **itaque** as colloquial for an emphatic *ita* and cites Plaut. *Epid.* 84; see also Brix on Plaut. *Mil.* 108. — **illius . . . viri**: P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior. — **ego illum . . . ille me . . . percontatus est**: in Latin the verb is in the second clause rather than the first, because the verb is the favorite ending for the sentence. For this usage, syllepsis, see Madvig 478. — **suo**: for this use of the reflexive where we should expect *eius*, see Lane 2337. — **ultro citroque**, *on both sides, i.e.* by Scipio and Masinissa.

2. **accepti**, *entertained.* — **in multam noctem**: cf. *ad multam noctem*, below; and *de Sen.* 46 *convivium . . . ad multam noctem . . . vario sermone producimus.* — **de via**, *after my journey.* — **fessum**: participle with the force of a causal clause. — **artior . . . somnus**, *a deeper . . . sleep.* — **cogitationes . . . pariant**: cf. *de Div.* II. 128 *is*

somno tale quale de Homero scribit Ennius, de quo videlicet saepissime vigilans solebat cogitare et loqui) Africanus se ostendit ea forma quae mihi ex imagine eius quam ex ipso erat notior; quem ubi agnovi, equidem cohorrui, sed ille 'Ades' inquit 'animo et omitte timorem, Scipio, et quae dicam trade memoriae.

Videsne illam urbem, quae parere populo Romano 2 3
coacta per me renovat pristina bella nec potest quiescere?' (ostendebat autem Karthaginem de excelso et pleno stellarum, illustri et claro quodam loco) 'ad quam tu oppugnandam nunc venis paene miles. Hanc hoc biennio consul evertes, eritque cognomen id tibi per te

(*animus*) *cum languore corporis nec membris uti nec sensibus potest, incidit in visa varia et incerta ex reliquiis, ut ait Aristoteles, inhaerentibus earum rerum quas vigilans gesserit aut cogitaverit.* — **de Homero . . . Ennius**: Ennius (239–169 B.C.) wrote an epic poem in eighteen books, entitled *Annales*, recounting the history of the Romans from the time of Aeneas. He is said to have believed that he had received the spirit of Homer through the transmigration of souls. Cf. *Acad.* II. 51 (*Ennius*) *cum somniavit, ita narravit: . . . visus Homerus adesse poeta;* also Hor. *Ep.* II. 1. 50 *Ennius . . . alter Homerus.* — **ex imagine**: Roman citizens had the right to preserve in the *atrium*, the great hall of the house, wax masks of ancestors who had held curule magistracies. — **ex ipso . . . notior**: the younger Scipio was born 185 B.C., while the elder Africanus died either in that year or two years later. — **ades . . . animo**, *calm yourself, be brave.* — **trade memoriae**, *hand down, relate.* Cf. Chaucer, *The Parlement of Foules* 29 ff.

This bok, of which I make mencioun,
Entytlt was al thus, as I schal telle,
'Tullyus of the Drem of Scipion,' etc.

2. 3. per me: by his victory at Zama, 202 B.C. — **pristina bella**: the First and Second Punic Wars. — **autem**: on this use of *autem* to introduce a parenthesis, see Lane 1642; cf. 8 *erat autem.* — **excelso . . . loco**: the Milky Way; cf. 8 *orbem lacteum.* — **paene miles**: the military tribunes were taken from young men of senatorial or equestrian rank. The office was an important one, but is here depreciated in comparison with the consulship, which Scipio was to have two years later. — **hoc biennio . . . evertes**: Scipio was consul 147 B.C. and proconsul 146 B.C., in which year he captured and destroyed Carthage, and celebrated a splendid triumph in Rome; cf. Liv. *Epit.* LII; Val. Max. IV. 3. 13. — **cognomen**:

partum, quod habes adhuc a nobis hereditarium. Cum autem Karthaginem deleveris, triumphum egeris censorque fueris et obieris legatus Aegyptum, Syriam, Asiam, Graeciam, deligere iterum consul absens bellumque maximum conficies, Numantiam exscindes. Sed cum eris curru in Capitolium invectus, offendes rem publicam consiliis perturbatam nepotis mei.

4 Hic tu, Africane, ostendas oportebit patriae lumen animi, ingenii consiliique tui. Sed eius temporis ancipitem video quasi fatorum viam. Nam cum aetas tua septenos octiens solis anfractus reditusque converterit,

Africanus Minor. — **censor**: 142 B.C. — **obieris legatus**: Cicero elsewhere speaks of this visit as preceding the censorship; cf. *Acad.* II. 5 *in legatione illa nobili quam ante censuram obiit.* — **Asiam**: the Roman province of Asia, comprising Caria, Lydia, Mysia, and Phrygia. — **iterum consul**: 134 B.C. — **absens**: this means simply that Scipio was not a candidate for the consulship. — **bellum . . . Numantiam exscindes**: the war with Numantia lasted, with little credit to the Romans, from 143 to 133 B.C. Scipio, after a desperate siege of fifteen months, succeeded in capturing and destroying the place. The wretched inhabitants who survived were sold into slavery. Numantia was situated near the sources of the Douro in Hispania Tarraconensis, but the ancient city was so completely destroyed that its site cannot now be identified. — **curru . . . invectus**: referring to his Numantine triumph. — **offendes**, *you will find.* — **consiliis . . . nepotis mei**: the agrarian laws of Tiberius *Gracchus.* The latter was the son of Cornelia, daughter of Africanus Maior. For an account of the Gracchan legislation and the fate of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, see Mommsen, *Rom. Hist.* III. 111 ff.

4. **ancipitem**, *uncertain.* — **septenos octiens**: fifty-six years, Scipio's age at the time he is represented as narrating his dream, 129 B.C. — **solis . . . reditusque**, *revolutionē of the sun, years;* cf. Macrob. *Som. Scip.* I. 6. 83 *per 'septenos octiens solis anfractus reditusque' quinquaginta et sex significat annos, anfractum solis et reditum annum vocans; 'anfractum' propter zodiaci ambitum, 'reditum' quia eadem signa per annos singulos certa lege metitur;* also *N. D.* II. 102 *sol . . . modo accedens, tum autem recedens binas in singulis annis reversiones ab extremo contrarias facit.* The sun crosses the equator at the time of the vernal and autumnal equinoxes and reaches its farthest point north and south at the summer and winter solstices. The term **anfractus** refers to what the ancients called the "circular

duoque ii numeri, quorum uterque plenus alter altera de causa habetur, circuitu naturali summam tibi fatalem confecerint, in te unum atque in tuum nomen se tota convertet civitas, te senatus, te omnes boni, te socii, te Latini intuebuntur, tu eris unus in quo nitatur civitatis salus, ac, ne multa, dictator rem publicam constituas oportet, si impias propinquorum manus effugeris.' Hic cum exclamasset Laelius ingemuissentque vehementius ceteri, leniter arridens Scipio 'St! quaeso' inquit, 'ne me e somno excitetis, et parumper audite cetera.'

motion" of the sun. — **quorum uterque plenus . . . habetur**: the ancients regarded 8 as a perfect number because it is the first cube after 1; because 8 = 7 (perfect number) + 1 (unity); also because 8 = 2 × 4 (for which reason 8 was taken as the Pythagorean symbol for justice); for additional reasons for calling 8 a complete number, see Macrob. *Som. Scip.* I. 5. 3–18. Seven was considered a perfect number for many reasons; *e.g.*, multiples of 7 are the climacterical years in the life of man, 70 being the natural limit of age (cf. Macrob. *Som. Scip.* I. 6. 76 *haec a physicis creditur meta vivendi, et hoc vitae humanae perfectum spatium terminatur*); 7 is ¼ of 28, the number of days in the lunar month; the human body in many parts of its organism also seems to illustrate the prominence of 7, *e.g.* the 7 "openings" in the head for the organs of sense; again, 7 is made up of numbers that are also regarded as having certain special and peculiar properties, 6 + 1, 5 + 2, 4 + 3; for a long and curious discussion of 7 as a perfect number, see Macrob. *Som. Scip.* I. 6. 1–83; cf. also *septem . . . qui numerus rerum omnium ferenotus est*, 10. — **summam . . . fatalem**: sc. *annorum; the time allotted by fate.* — **te senatus . . . te Latini**: anaphora; **boni** in the political sense, *optimates;* instead of **socii Latini**, as here, the more common expression is *socii et Latini* (or *socii et nomen Latinum*). It is used to designate all the Italians, including the Latins, in alliance with Rome. The landed proprietors among the allies, in whose territory the public domain was situated, would be especially affected, and in many cases injured, by the agrarian reforms proposed by the Gracchan party. Scipio, in behalf of the Italians, vigorously opposed in the senate the new legislation; cf. *de Am.* 12. — **ne multa**: sc. *dicam.* — **rem . . . constituas**, *restore order in the state.* — **si . . . effugeris**: referring to the various suspicions concerning the death of Scipio; see Intr. 11. — **Laelius**: C. Laelius Sapiens (b. circ. 186 B.C.), a man of marked culture and ability, was the friend and companion of the younger Scipio, as his father had been of the elder. — **parumper**: this is the reading of Müller

3 5 'Sed quo sis, Africane, alacrior ad tutandam rem publicam, sic habeto: omnibus qui patriam conservaverint, adiuverint, auxerint, certum esse in caelo definitum locum, ubi beati aevo sempiterno fruantur; nihil est enim illi principi deo qui omnem mundum regit, quod quidem in terris fiat, acceptius quam concilia coetusque hominum iure sociati, quae civitates appellantur; harum rectores et conservatores hinc profecti huc revertuntur.'

6 Hic ego, etsi eram perterritus non tam mortis metu quam insidiarum a meis, quaesivi tamen viveretne ipse et Paulus pater et alii quos nos exstinctos arbitraremur. 'Immo vero' inquit 'hi vivunt qui e corporum vinclis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt, vestra vero quae dicitur

and most editors, following Bouhier, for *parum rebus* of the MSS.; Meissner reads *parumper erectis auribus*.

3. 5. sic habeto, *be assured;* cf. 18. — **definitum**: to be taken with **esse**. — **aevo sempiterno**: cf. Lucret. II. 647 *immortali aevo;* with *aevum* cf. Grk. αἰών, Eng. *aye, ever*. — **enim**: *enim*, in connection with an unemphatic *est* (or *sunt*), generally stands in the third place, if the sentence begins with an emphatic word. — **quod quidem . . . fiat**: a relative clause of restriction in which the relative, as here, is often followed by *quidem*. — **concilia coetusque**: alliteration. — **iure sociati**: for the definition of a state, cf. *de Rep.* I. 39 *est igitur, inquit Africanus, res publica res populi, populus autem non omnis hominum coetus quoquo modo congregatus, sed coetus multitudinis iuris consensu et utilitatis communione sociatus*. — **hinc profecti . . . revertuntur**: for the theory that the individual soul comes from the world-soul and at death returns to its original home, cf. *Tusc.* V. 38 *humanus autem animus, decerptus ex mente divina;* id. I. 118 *ut aut in aeternam et plane in nostram domum remigremus; N. D.* I. 27 *Pythagoras, qui censuit animum esse per naturam rerum omnem intentum et commeantem, ex quo nostri animi carperentur*, etc.; *de Sen.* 78 *audiebam Pythagoram . . . numquam dubitasse quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus;* also *hanc sedem et domum*, 17 and 21.

6. insidiarum: cf. *impias . . . manus*, 4. — **ipse**: sc. Africanus Maior. — **Paulus pater**: L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, consul for the second time, 168 B.C., in which year, by his victory over Perseus at Pydna, he brought the Third Macedonian War to a successful close. — **immo vero**, *nay, rather;* refuting the erroneous belief expressed in the words **exstinctos arbitraremur**. — **corporum vinclis . . . evolaverunt**:

vita mors est. Quin tu aspicis ad te venientem Paulum patrem?' Quem ut vidi, equidem vim lacrimarum profudi, ille autem me complexus atque osculans flere prohibebat.

Atque ego ut primum fletu represso loqui posse coepi, 7
'Quaeso' inquam, 'pater sanctissime atque optime, quoniam haec est vita, ut Africanum audio dicere, quid moror in terris? quin huc ad vos venire propero?' 'Non est ita' inquit ille. 'Nisi enim deus is, cuius hoc templum est omne quod conspicis, istis te corporis custodiis liberaverit, huc tibi aditus patere non potest. Homines enim sunt hac lege generati, qui tuerentur illum globum quem in hoc templo medium vides, quae terra dicitur, iisque animus datus est ex illis sempiternis ignibus quae sidera

cf. *Tusc.* I. 75 *et cum illuc ex his vinclis emissi feremur, minus tardabitur cursus animorum; de Am.* 14 *ut optimi cuiusque animus in morte facillime evolet tamquam e custodia vinclisque corporis; de Sen.* 77 *dum sumus inclusi in his compagibus corporis.* — **vestra . . . mors est**: cf. *Tusc.* I. 75; *de Sen.* 77 *ego vestros patres . . . vivere arbitror, et eam quidem vitam, quae est sola vita nominanda;* cf. Augustin. *C. D.* XIII. 10 '*An vita mortalium mors potius quam vita dicenda sit.*' — **quin . . . aspicis**: for this use of *quin* in questions intimating a command, exhortation, or appeal, see Lane 1531. — **venientem**: *quo pacto venientem? Proclus cum Porphyrio ait lucem esse vehiculum animarum* (Mai). — **vim**, *flood.*

7. **quin . . . propero**, *why may I not hasten?* see *quin . . . aspicis*, 6 n. — **templum**: a place for observation marked off by the augur with his staff; applied also to the heavens as divided by the augur when about to observe the omens; for the ceremony, cf. Liv. I. 18. 6–9; for *templum* in the general sense of the *heavens*, cf. Lucret. V. 1436 *mundi . . . templum.* — **corporis custodiis**: cf. *corporum vinclis*, 6. — **huc . . . non potest**: cf. *quare . . . videamini*, below. — **hac lege**, *on this condition, i.e. for this purpose.* — **qui tuerentur . . . globum**: cf. *de Sen.* 77 *sed credo deos immortalis sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent qui terras tuerentur.* — **medium**: for a still more definite statement of this error of the ancient philosophers, cf. 10 *nam terra . . . locum.* This mistaken notion in regard to the position of the earth and its relation to the heavenly bodies prevailed until the time of Copernicus. — **iisque animus . . . mentibus**: for the belief that the soul is of the same fiery substance as the stars, cf. *Tusc.* I. 43; for the theory that the stars are endowed

et stellas vocatis, quae globosae et rotundae, divinis animatae mentibus, circulos suos orbesque conficiunt celeritate mirabili. Quare et tibi, Publi, et piis omnibus retinendus animus est in custodia corporis nec iniussu eius a quo ille est vobis datus ex hominum vita migrandum est, ne munus humanum adsignatum a deo defugisse
8 videamini. Sed sic, Scipio, ut avus hic tuus, ut ego qui te genui, iustitiam cole et pietatem, quae cum magna in parentibus et propinquis, tum in patria maxima est. Ea vita via est in caelum et in hunc coetum eorum qui iam vixerunt et corpore laxati illum incolunt locum quem vides' (erat autem is splendidissimo candore inter flammas circus elucens), 'quem vos, ut a Graiis accepistis, orbem lacteum nuncupatis.' Ex quo omnia mihi contem-

with intellect, cf. *N. D.* II. 39 *atque hac mundi divinitate perspecta, tribuenda est sideribus eadem divinitas, quae ex mobilissima purissimaque aetheris parte gignuntur . . . ut ea quoque rectissime et animantia esse et sentire atque intellegere dicantur.* — **circulos . . . orbes,** *cycles and revolutions.* — **quare . . . videamini:** opposed to the doctrine that suicide is right. Man has a duty on earth to perform and must remain at his post like a soldier on guard; cf. *Tusc.* I. 74 *vetat . . . deus iniussu hinc nos suo demigrare; de Sen.* 73 *vetatque Pythagoras iniussu . . . dei . . . decedere;* Plato *Phaed.* pp. 61, 62. — **humanum:** omitted by Macrobius; bracketed by Baiter.

8. **avus,** adoptive *grandfather.* — **hic . . . te:** note the grouping of pronouns. — **pietatem:** the following clauses indicate the comprehensive meaning of *pietas* here as often. — **magna . . . maxima:** chiasmus. — **in parentibus,** *in the case of parents.* — **in patria maxima:** for grades of duty, cf. *de Off.* I. 160 *ut prima (officia) dis immortalibus, secunda patriae, tertia parentibus, deinceps gradatim reliquis debeantur;* also id. I. 57; Lucilius frag. (*virtus est*) *commoda praeterea patriai prima putare,| deinde parentum, tertia iam postremaque nostra.* — **ea vita,** *such a life as this.* — **vixerunt:** with this use of the perfect, *have ceased to live,* cf. *Fam.* XIV. 4. 5 *viximus, floruimus;* Verg. *Aen.* II. 325 *fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium.* — **corpore laxati:** cf. *e corporum vinclis . . . e carcere,* 6. — **autem:** see 3 n. — **flammas,** *the stars.* — **orbem lacteum:** cf. *excelso . . . loco,* 3; Grk. ὁ γαλαξίας sc. κύκλος; Macrob. *Som. Scip.* I. 15. 6 *Democritus [dixit] innumeras stellas brevesque omnes, quae spisso tractu in unum coactae, spatiis quae angustissima interiacent opertis, vicinae sibi undique et*

planti praeclara cetera et mirabilia videbantur. Erant autem eae stellae quas numquam ex hoc loco vidimus, et eae magnitudines omnium quas esse numquam suspicati sumus, ex quibus erat ea minima quae, ultima a caelo, citima a terris, luce lucebat aliena. Stellarum autem globi terrae magnitudinem facile vincebant. Iam ipsa terra ita mihi parva visa est ut me imperii nostri, quo quasi punctum eius attingimus, paeniteret.

Quam cum magis intuerer 'Quaeso' inquit Africanus, 4 9
'quousque humi defixa tua mens erit? Nonne aspicis quae in templa veneris? Novem tibi orbibus vel potius globis conexa sunt omnia, quorum unus est caelestis, extimus, qui reliquos omnes complectitur, summus ipse

ideo passim diffusae lucis aspergine continuum iuncti luminis corpus ostendunt; Ov. *Met.* I. 169 *via lactea.* — **omnia . . . cetera**: *i.e.* except the earth, mentioned below, *iam . . . terra.* — **ex hoc loco**: *i.e.* from the earth. — **magnitudines**: note the plural abstract. — **ea minima . . . aliena**: cf. 9 *luna radiis solis accensa.* — **a terris**: **a** added by Madvig. — **facile vincebant**, *far surpassed; facile* is thus used to intensify an expression which already signifies a high degree, e.g. *facile princeps.* — **iam**, *furthermore.* — **paeniteret**: cf. Sen. *N. Q.* I. pr. 8 *O quam ridiculi sunt mortalium termini!*

4. 9. defixa, *fixed upon.* — **templa**: see 7 n. — **tibi**: the ethical dative. — **orbibus . . . omnia**: the Greek astronomers taught that the universe (omnia) consisted of *nine circles, or rather spheres*, with the earth, fixed and immovable, as the center. Around the earth were seven hollow spheres, in which, beginning with the one nearest the earth, the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, respectively, performed their revolutions. Cicero, in the order of the planets, followed Archimedes and the Chaldaeans (cf. Macrob. *Som. Scip.* I. 19. 2); but Plato (*Aegyptios . . . secutus*) placed the sun between the moon and Mercury. Encircling these seven hollow spheres is the outermost (**extimus**) sphere (called also the *heavens, caelum*), in which the fixed stars have their unvarying (**sempiterni**) courses. — **extimus**: apparently only here in Cicero. — **qui . . . complectitur**: redundant; bracketed by some editors. — **summus ipse deus**: cf. *N. D.* I. 37 *Cleanthes . . . tum ipsum mundum deum dicit esse, tum totius naturae menti atque animo tribuit hoc nomen, tum ultimum et altissimum atque undique circumfusum et extremum omnia cingentem atque complexum ardorem, qui aether nominetur, certissimum deum iudicat;* also id. II. 65 *Euripides*

deus arcens et continens ceteros; in quo sunt infixi illi qui volvuntur stellarum cursus sempiterni; cui subiecti sunt septem, qui versantur retro contrario motu atque caelum; ex quibus unum globum possidet illa quam in terris Saturniam nominant. Deinde est hominum generi prosperus et salutaris ille fulgor qui dicitur Iovis; tum rutilus horribilisque terris quem Martium dicitis; deinde subter mediam fere regionem sol obtinet, dux et princeps et moderator luminum reliquorum, mens mundi et temperatio, tanta magnitudine ut cuncta sua luce lustret et compleat. Hunc ut comites consequuntur Veneris alter,

autem, ut multa praeclare, sic hoc breviter:

Vidés sublime fúsum, inmoderatum aéthera,
Qui térram tenero círcumiectu ampléctitur:
Hunc súmmum habeto dívum, hunc perhibetó Iovem.

— **arcens . . . ceteros**: cf. *N. D.* II. 101 *restat ultimus et a domiciliis nostris altissimus omnia cingens et coercens caeli complexus, qui idem aether vocatur, extrema ora et determinatio mundi, in quo cum admirabilitate maxima igneae formae cursus ordinatos definiunt.* — **septem**: sc. *globi.* — **qui versantur . . . caelum**, *which revolve in a direction opposite to that of the heavens;* note the use of **atque**. The seven spheres had a motion of their own from west to east (**retro contrario**) through the signs of the zodiac; they also had an apparent motion from east to west with the diurnal revolution of the heavens, or outermost sphere; cf. Macrob. *Som. Scip.* I. 18. 2 *solem ac lunam et stellas quinque . . . praeter quod secum trahit ab ortu in occasum caeli diurna conversio, ipsa suo motu in orientem ab occidente procedere . . . verum esse constabit;* also Ov. *Met.* II. 70 ff.

Adde quod assidua rapitur vertigine caelum,
Sideraque alta trahit celerique volumine torquet.
. . . et rapido contrarius evehor orbi.

— **illa quam**: Meissner reads *illa stella quam*, contrary to the manuscripts, on the ground that *stella* could easily fall out after **illa**, while ellipsis, in this instance, he considers improbable. — **prosperus . . . Iovis**: cf. Hor. *Carm.* II. 17. 22-24

Te Iovis impio
Tutela Saturno refulgens
Eripuit.

subter: adverb. — **sol . . . dux . . . moderator**: cf. *Tusc.* I. 68. — **mens mundi**: some editors compare Milton, *P. L.* V. 171

Thou Sun! of this great world both eye and soul.

— **temperatio**: for the concrete *temperator*. — **luce lustret**: alliteration; cf. *N. D.* II. 92 *siderum . . . quorum est princeps sol omnia clarissima luce conlustrans.* — **ut comites**, *as satellites;* cf. *N. D.* II.

alter Mercurii cursus, in infimoque orbe luna radiis solis accensa convertitur. Infra autem iam nihil est nisi mortale et caducum praeter animos munere deorum hominum generi datos, supra lunam sunt aeterna omnia. Nam ea quae est media et nona, tellus, neque movetur et infima est et in eam feruntur omnia nutu suo pondera.'

Quae cum intuerer stupens, ut me recepi 'Quid? hic' inquam 'quis est, qui complet aures meas tantus et tam dulcis sonus?' 'Hic est' inquit 'ille, qui intervallis disiunctus imparibus, sed tamen pro rata parte ratione distinctis impulsu et motu ipsorum orbium efficitur et acuta cum gravibus temperans varios aequabiliter concentus efficit; nec enim silentio tanti motus incitari possunt et natura fert ut extrema ex altera parte graviter, ex altera autem acute sonent. Quam ob causam

110 *infraque Martem duae (stellae) Soli oboediant;* Venus and Mercury were supposed to perform their revolutions in very nearly the same time as the sun. — **radiis . . . accensa**: cf. *luce . . . aliena*, 8. — **supra . . . omnia**: bracketed by Meissner. — **nam ea . . . infima**: cf. *nam terra . . . haeret*, 10; for the supposed position of the earth, see *orbibus . . . omnia*, 9 n; for **media . . . infima**, cf. also *Tusc.* V. 69 *qua omnia delata gravitate medium mundi locum semper expetant, qui est idem infimus in rotundo.* — **in eam . . . pondera**: cf. *Tusc.* I. 40 *persuadent . . . ferantur.* — **nutu**, *downward tendency, gravity.*

5. 10. quae . . . intuerer: cf. the opening clause of 9. — **tantus . . . sonus**: "the music of the spheres"; with this passage compare Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice* V. 1

There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st,
But in his motion like an angel sings;

also Job 38. 7 "The morning stars sang together"; and *N. D.* II. 11 *quarum (stellarum) tantus est concentus ex dissimillimis motibus.* — **ille**: sc. *sonus.* — **intervallis . . . distinctis**: the doctrine of the "harmony of the spheres" came from Pythagoras, who found the key of the universe in number and who taught that the harmony existing in the relations and movements of the heavenly bodies was based upon the principles of musical harmony. — **pro . . . parte**, *proportionally.* — **ratione**, *by rule, exactly;* bracketed by Meissner. — **acuta . . . gravibus**, *high with low notes.* — **incitari**, *carried on.* — **natura fert**, *it is in accordance with nature, natural.* — **extrema**, *the extremes;* subject of **sonent.**

summus ille caeli stellifer cursus, cuius conversio est concitatior, acuto et excitato movetur sono, gravissimo autem hic lunaris atque infimus. Nam terra, nona, immobilis manens una sede semper haeret complexa medium mundi locum. Illi autem octo cursus, in quibus eadem vis est duorum, septem efficiunt distinctos intervallis sonos, qui numerus rerum omnium fere nodus est; quod docti homines nervis imitati atque cantibus aperuerunt sibi reditum in hunc locum, sicut alii qui praestantibus ingeniis in vita humana divina studia
11 coluerunt. Hoc sonitu oppletae aures hominum obsurduerunt; nec est ullus hebetior sensus in vobis, sicut ubi Nilus ad illa quae Catadupa nominantur praecipitat ex altissimis montibus, ea gens quae illum locum accolit propter magnitudinem sonitus sensu audiendi caret.

— **summus . . . cursus**: hypallage; we should expect *ille cursus summi caeli stelliferi;* **stellifer** apparently found in Cicero only here; **summus . . . infimus**, chiasmus. — **excitato**, *quick, lively.* — **terra . . . immobilis**: *i.e.* producing no sound. — **octo cursus . . . duorum**: *i.e.* Mercury and Venus, supposed to move with the same velocity, produce the same sound. — **septem . . . sonos**: the seven notes of the musical scale. — **qui numerus . . . nodus est**: see *quorum . . . plenus*, 4 n; cf. Macrob. *Som. Scip.* I. 6. 34 *neque planitiem sine tribus neque soliditatem sine quattuor posse vinciri. Ergo septenarius numerus geminam vim obtinet vinciendi, quia ambae partes eius vincula prima sortitae sunt;* in place of **nodus**, *bond*, the English metaphor would be "the key of almost everything." — **quod**, *and this, i.e.* the method of producing musical harmony. — **nervis**: the heptachord; cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 646, 647. — **imitati**: cf. Quint. I. 10. 12 *cum Pythagoras atque eum secuti acceptam sine dubio antiquitus opinionem vulgaverint, mundum ipsum ratione esse compositum, quam postea sit lyra imitata.* — **in hunc locum**: heaven. — **vita . . . studia**: chiasmus; cf. 8 *ea vita via . . . caelum;* as music had its origin in heaven, so the noblest virtues and divine pursuits came from above. By cultivating these, men may secure for themselves a return to their former celestial abode.

11. hoc sonitu: *i.e.* the music of the spheres. — **Catadupa**: τὰ Κατάδουπα; the celebrated cataracts of the Nile, near Syene (modern Assouan). — **ea gens**: the Catadupi. — **sensu . . . caret**: a

Hic vero tantus est totius mundi incitatissima conversione sonitus ut eum aures hominum capere non possint, sicut intueri solem adversum nequitis eiusque radiis acies vestra sensusque vincitur.' Haec ego admirans referebam tamen oculos ad terram identidem.

Tum Africanus 'Sentio' inquit 'te sedem etiam nunc 6 12
hominum ac domum contemplari; quae si tibi parva, ut est, ita videtur, haec caelestia semper spectato, illa humana contemnito. Tu enim quam celebritatem sermonis hominum aut quam expetendam gloriam consequi potes? Vides habitari in terra raris et angustis in locis, et in ipsis quasi maculis ubi habitatur vastas solitudines interiectas, eosque qui incolunt terram non modo interruptos ita esse ut nihil inter ipsos ab aliis ad alios manare possit, sed partim obliquos, partim transversos, partim etiam adversos stare vobis, a quibus exspectare gloriam certe nullam potestis.

Cernis autem eandem terram quasi quibusdam redi- 13
mitam et circumdatam cingulis, e quibus duos maxime

geographical legend of the time (Anz). — **adversum**, *directly at.* — **eiusque**: **-que** adversative. — **sensusque**: sc. *videndi.* — **referebam tamen**: cf. *quaeso . . . mens erit*, 9; in spite of the marvelous things which the elder Africanus had shown him and which Scipio gazed upon with *awe* and *delight* (**admirans**), he *still* (**tamen**) kept turning his eyes toward the earth.

6. 12. ut est, *as it really is.* — **spectato . . . contemnito**: the so-called future of the imperative is often used, as here, in general rules of conduct; likewise in maxims and legal documents. — **humana**, *earthly affairs;* contrasted with **caelestia.** — **celebritatem . . . hominum**, *fame among men.* — **expetendam**, *worth striving for.* — **raris**: cf. *duo sunt habitabiles*, 13. — **angustis**: cf. *angustata*, 13. — **quasi maculis**, *spots, as it were;* note similar uses of *quasi*, 4, 18, 21. — **interruptos**, *cut off* (from each other). — **obliquos . . . transversos . . . adversos**: **obliqui**, ἀντοικοι, are men who live in the same longitude, but in opposite latitude; **transversi**, περίοικοι, in the same latitude, but in opposite longitude; **adversi**, ἀντίποδες, diametrically opposite to each other; with **adversos**, cf. *adversa . . . vestigia*, 13.

13. cingulis, *zones.* — **duos . . . diversos**: north and south frigid

inter se diversos et caeli verticibus ipsis ex utraque parte subnixos obriguisse pruina vides, medium autem illum et maximum solis ardore torreri. Duo sunt habitabiles, quorum australis ille, in quo qui insistunt adversa vobis urgent vestigia, nihil ad vestrum genus; hic autem alter subiectus aquiloni, quem incolitis, cerne quam tenui vos parte contingat. Omnis enim terra quae colitur a vobis, angustata verticibus, lateribus latior, parva quaedam insula est, circumfusa illo mari quod Atlanticum, quod magnum, quem Oceanum appellatis in terris, qui tamen
14 tanto nomine quam sit parvus vides. Ex his ipsis cultis notisque terris num aut tuum aut cuiusquam nostrum nomen vel Caucasum hunc, quem cernis, transcendere potuit vel illum Gangen tranatare? Quis in reliquis orientis aut obeuntis solis ultimis aut aquilonis austrive partibus tuum nomen audiet? Quibus amputatis cernis profecto quantis in angustiis vestra se gloria dilatari

zones; cf. *Tusc.* I. 45 and 69. — **caeli verticibus,** *the poles of the heavens;* for the meaning of *vertex*, cf. *N. D.* II. 105:

Extremusque adeo duplici de cardine vertex
Dicitur esse polus.

— **subnixos,** *lying under.* — **australis**: the south temperate; cf. *Tusc.* I. 68. — **nihil ad . . . genus**: sc. *pertinet.* — **hic . . . subiectus aquiloni**: opposed to **australis ille**, above; **subiectus aquiloni**, a poetic phrase. — **angustata**: this verb is found in Cicero apparently only here. — **verticibus,** *at the poles*, north and south. — **lateribus**: *i.e.* from east to west. — **parva . . . insula**: cf. *N. D.* II. 165 *sin autem his consulunt (dii) qui quasi magnam quandam insulam incolunt, quam nos orbem terrae vocamus, etiam illis consulunt qui partes eius insulae tenent, Europam, Asiam, Africam.* — **circumfusa . . . mari**: the ancients thought that the ocean flowed round the earth like a great river. — **quem Oceanum**: cf. *quae*, 5. — **tanto nomine**: ablative absolute with concessive force; note the use of **tamen.**

14. **nomen . . . transcendere . . . tranatare**: personification. — **Caucasum . . . Gangen**: referred to in a general sense as "the ends of the earth"; cf. Juv. 10. 1 *a Gadibus usque Auroram et Gangen.* — **obeuntis** for *occidentis* is unusual in prose. — **gloria dilatari**: editors compare with this Sen. *Ep.* 91. 17 *Alexander Macedonum rex discere geometriam coeperat; infelix!*

velit. Ipsi autem, qui de nobis loquuntur, quam loquentur diu?

Quin etiam, si cupiat proles illa futurorum hominum 7 15
deinceps laudes unius cuiusque nostrum a patribus acceptas posteris prodere, tamen propter eluviones exustionesque terrarum, quas accidere tempore certo necesse est, non modo aeternam, sed ne diuturnam quidem gloriam adsequi possumus. Quid autem interest, ab iis qui postea nascentur sermonem fore de te, cum ab iis nullus fuerit qui ante nati sunt? qui nec pauciores et certe meliores fuerunt viri; praesertim cum, apud eos 16

sciturus quam pusilla terra esset, ex qua minimum occupaverat. — **quam . . . diu**: tmesis, by which **diu** is emphasized.

7. 15. **quin etiam**, *nay, even*, adding a stronger assertion. — **proles**: *proles* is mostly found in poetry; cf. *de Or.* III. 153. — **deinceps**, *from generation to generation.* — **a patribus acceptas**, *which they had heard from their elders.* — **eluviones exustionesque terrarum**: a reference to the belief of ancient philosophers (especially the Stoics) that the earth is doomed to suffer destruction by alternate flood and fire. When the fiery ether of which the heavenly bodies are composed has exhausted the moisture of the earth, then a universal conflagration will follow, from which a new world will be born. Again, when the ethereal fires are overcome by the waters of the earth and sea, then the world will be purified and renewed by flood; cf. Lucret. V. 380–415; Ov. *Met.* I. 253–415; Cic. *N. D.* II. 118 *sunt autem stellae natura flammeae; quocirca terrae, maris, aquarum vaporibus aluntur iis qui a sole ex agris tepefactis et ex aquis excitantur. . . . Ex quo eventurum nostri putant id . . . ut ad extremum omnis mundus ignesceret, cum umore consumpto neque terra ali posset nec remearet aër . . . ita relinqui nihil praeter ignem, a quo rursum animante ac deo renovatio mundi fieret atque idem ornatus oreretur;* Sen. *N. Q.* III. 27 ff.; and Macrob. *Som. Scip.* II. 10. 13 *ac rursus longo temporum tractu ita crescens umor altius vincit, ut terris infundatur eluvio, rursusque calor post hoc vires resumit, et ita fit, ut manente mundo inter exuberantis caloris umorisque vices terrarum cultus cum hominum genere saepe intercidat et reducta temperie rursus novetur.* — **non modo**: the reading of Anz; *non modo non* Baiter; *non modo* [*non*] Müller, Meissner. — **nec pauciores**: cf. Petron. *S.* 42 *abiit ad plures;* Robert Blair, *The Grave* 450

'T is long since Death had the majority.

— **certe meliores**: disparagement of the present generation in contrast with "the men of ancient times" is as old as Homer; cf. also Hor. *Carm.* III. 6. 46–48.

ipsos a quibus audiri nomen nostrum potest, nemo unius anni memoriam consequi possit. Homines enim populariter annum tantum modo solis, id est unius astri, reditu metiuntur; cum autem ad idem unde semel profecta sunt cuncta astra redierint, eandemque totius caeli discriptionem longis intervallis rettulerint, tum ille vere vertens annus appellari potest; in quo vix dicere audeo quam multa hominum saecula teneantur. Namque ut olim deficere sol hominibus exstinguique visus est, cum Romuli animus haec ipsa in templa penetravit, quandoque ab eadem parte sol eodemque tempore iterum defecerit, tum signis omnibus ad principium stellisque revocatis expletum annum habeto; cuius quidem anni nondum vicesimam partem scito esse conversam.

17 Quocirca si reditum in hunc locum desperaveris, in quo omnia sunt magnis et praestantibus viris, quanti tandem est ista hominum gloria quae pertinere vix ad

16. unius anni: the *magnus annus*, called below **vere vertens annus**; cf. *N. D.* II. 51 *magnum annum . . . qui tum efficitur, cum solis et lunae et quinque errantium ad eandem inter se comparationem confectis omnium spatiis est facta conversio. Quae quam longa sit magna quaestio est, esse vero certam et definitam necesse est.* — **populariter**: *i.e.* without scientific accuracy. — **ad idem**, *to the same point.* — **discriptionem**, *arrangement*, and so suggesting *appearance.* — **vertens**: used reflexively. — **teneantur**: for *contineantur.* — **cum Romuli . . . penetravit**: cf. *de Rep.* II. 17 *ac Romulus cum septem et triginta regnavisset annos et haec egregia duo firmamenta rei publicae peperisset, auspicia et senatum, tantum est consecutus ut, cum subito sole obscurato non comparuisset, deorum in numero conlocatus putaretur.* — **quandoque**: for *quandocumque.* — **eadem parte . . . tempore**: in the same part of the heavens and on the same day of the year. — **quidem**, *however.* — **nondum . . . conversam**: from the traditional date of Romulus' death, 716 B.C., to the supposed time of this dream, 149 B.C., would be 567 years; 567 × 20 = 11,340. The great year exceeded this number and was supposed to equal from 12,000 to 15,000 ordinary years; cf. Tac. *Dial.* 16. Mathematicians now reckon the period at 25,000 years or more.

17. reditum . . . locum: cf. 10. — **quanti**, *of how little worth.* —

unius anni partem exiguam potest? Igitur alte spectare si voles atque hanc sedem et aeternam domum contueri, neque te sermonibus vulgi dedideris nec in praemiis humanis spem posueris rerum tuarum; suis te oportet inlecebris ipsa virtus trahat ad verum decus; quid de te alii loquantur ipsi videant, sed loquentur tamen. Sermo autem omnis ille et angustiis cingitur iis regionum quas vides, nec umquam de ullo perennis fuit; et obruitur hominum interitu et oblivione posteritatis exstinguitur.'

Quae cum dixisset, 'Ego vero' inquam, 'Africane, siquidem bene meritis de patria quasi limes ad caeli aditum patet, quamquam a pueritia vestigiis ingressus patris et tuis decori vestro non defui, nunc tamen tanto praemio exposito enitar multo vigilantius.' Et ille 'Tu vero enitere et sic habeto, non esse te mortalem, sed corpus hoc; nec enim tu is es quem forma ista declarat, sed mens cuiusque is est quisque, non ea figura quae digito demonstrari potest. Deum te igitur scito esse, siquidem est deus qui viget, qui sentit, qui meminit, qui providet, qui tam regit et moderatur et movet id corpus cui praepositus est quam hunc mundum ille princeps deus; et ut

8 18

alte spectare . . . voles: cf. *haec . . . spectato*, 12; and *Tusc.* I. 82. — **sedem . . . domum**: cf. *sedem . . . domum*, 12: and see *hinc profecti*, 5 n. — **dedideris . . . posueris**: Baiter reads *dederis*. Editors compare Milton, *Lycidas* 78 ff. "Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil," etc. — **quid . . . tamen**: bracketed by Meissner, as an interpolation not in harmony with the context. — **angustiis . . . regionum**, *the narrow limits of those countries*. — **nec . . . perennis**: cf. *nemo . . . consequi*, 16. — **obruitur . . . exstinguitur**: the chiasmus extends to each word.

8. 18. **vero**, *certainly, surely*; not adversative. — **limes . . . aditum**: cf. *ea vita . . . caelum*, 8. — **sic habeto**: as in 5. — **non esse te . . . potest**: cf. *Tusc.* I. 52 *neque nos corpora sumus*, etc. — **deum**: see *hinc . . . reverturtur*, 5 n. — **deus qui viget . . . providet**: cf. *Tusc.* I. 65 *quae autem divina? vigere, sapere, invenire, meminisse*; id. 66 *ita, quicquid est illud quod*

mundum ex quadam parte mortalem ipse deus aeternus, sic fragile corpus animus sempiternus movet.

19 Nam quod semper movetur, aeternum est; quod autem motum adfert alicui quodque ipsum agitatur aliunde, quando finem habet motus, vivendi finem habeat necesse est. Solum igitur quod sese movet, quia numquam deseritur a se, numquam ne moveri quidem desinit; quin etiam ceteris, quae moventur, hic fons, hoc principium est movendi. Principii autem nulla est origo; nam ex principio oriuntur omnia, ipsum autem nulla ex re alia nasci potest; nec enim esset id principium, quod gigneretur aliunde; quodsi numquam oritur, ne occidit quidem umquam. Nam principium exstinctum nec ipsum ab alio renascetur nec ex se aliud creabit, siquidem necesse est a principio oriri omnia. Ita fit ut motus principium ex eo sit quod ipsum a se movetur; id autem nec nasci potest nec mori; vel concidat omne caelum omnisque natura et consistat necesse est nec vim ullam nanciscatur qua a primo impulsa moveatur.

sentit, etc. — **mundum . . . mortalem**: cf. *eluviones . . . terrarum*, 15. — **fragile . . . sempiternus**: chiasmus.

19. This and the following section contain the argument for the immortality of the soul based upon its original activity. In this passage Cicero has followed Plato with scarcely any deviation (*Phaedrus* p. 245 c); for the same argument, cf. *de Sen.* 78 *cumque semper agitetur animus*, etc.; *Tusc.* I. 53–55 *illa ratio . . . quae a Socrate est in Phaedro explicata*, etc.; Macrob. *Som. Scip.* II. 13. 10–12, in which the argument is given in a series of syllogisms; in the briefest form thus, *anima ex se movetur, quod ex se movetur principium motus est, quod principium motus est natum non est, quod natum non est immortale est, igitur anima immortalis est.* — **sese movet**: Baiter reads *se ipsum movet;* likewise *Tusc.* I. 53; Macrobius (P B) *de se movet.* — **numquam ne . . . quidem**: the general negative numquam is strengthened by ne . . . quidem. — **quin etiam**: see 15 n. — **principium . . . movendi**: cf. *motus principium*, below. — **origo . . . oriuntur**: note the play on the words from the same root. — **exstinctum**: used with the force of a conditional clause. — **vel**, *or else.*

Cum pateat igitur aeternum id esse quod a se ipso 9
moveatur, quis est qui hanc naturam animis esse tribu- 20
tam neget? Inanimum est enim omne quod pulsu agitatur externo; quod autem est animal, id motu cietur interiore et suo; nam haec est propria natura animi atque vis; quae si est una ex omnibus quae sese moveat, neque nata certe est et aeterna est. Hanc tu exerce 21
optimis in rebus! sunt autem optimae curae de salute patriae, quibus agitatus et exercitatus animus velocius in hanc sedem et domum suam pervolabit; idque eo ocius faciet, si iam tum, cum erit inclusus in corpore, eminebit foras et ea quae extra erunt contemplans quam maxime se a corpore abstrahet. Namque eorum animi qui se corporis voluptatibus dediderunt earumque se quasi ministros praebuerunt impulsuque libidinum voluptatibus oboedientium deorum et hominum iura violaverunt,

9. 20. **hanc naturam**: *i.e.* the quality or power of self-activity. — **inanimum**: for Cicero's use of this word see Madvig on *de Fin.* IV. 36. — **natura animi . . . vis**: cf. *Tusc.* I. 66 *natura atque vis animi.* — **quae sese moveat**: *quae se ipsa moveat* Baiter, *Tusc.* I. 54. — **est . . . est**: note the emphatic repetition.

21. **curae . . . patriae**: cf. *qui patriam*, etc., 5; see *in patria maxima*, 8 n. — **animus velocius . . . pervolabit**: cf. *Hortens.* II. 24 (preserved in St. Augustine) *si, ut antiquis philosophis iisque maximis longeque clarissimis placuit, aeternos animos ac divinos habemus, sic existimandum est, quo magis hi fuerint semper in suo cursu, id est, in ratione et investigandi cupiditate, et quo minus se admiscuerint atque implicuerint hominum vitiis et erroribus, hoc iis faciliorem ascensum et reditum in caelum fore.* — **sedem . . . domum suam**: see 17 n. — **idque eo ocius**: the reading of Meissner; Müller has *idque ocius;* but, as Meissner suggests, *eo* between *idque* and *ocius* could easily fall out. One MS. has *ideoque* in place of *idque*, and this makes the reading **idque eo ocius** seem more probable than *idque ocius.* — **si . . . eminebit foras**, *if . . . the soul will look abroad;* cf. *de Rep.* III. 11 *iustitia foras spectat et proiecta tota est atque eminet.* — **se . . . abstrahet**: explanatory of **eminebit foras**; cf. 6 *e corporum vinclis*, etc.; also *Tusc.* I. 74 *tota enim philosophorum vita . . . commentatio mortis est.* — **se . . . dediderunt**, *have given themselves up wholly to;* cf. 17 *dedideris.* —

corporibus elapsi circum terram ipsam volutantur nec hunc in locum nisi multis exagitati saeculis revertuntur.' Ille discessit; ego somno solutus sum.

volutantur . . . revertuntur: cf. *Tusc.* I. 27 and 72; also Plato (Jowett's trans.) *Phaed.* p. 81, "that heavy, weighty, earthy element of sight by which such a soul is depressed and dragged down . . . prowling about tombs and sepulchers, in the neighborhood of which are seen certain ghostly apparitions of souls which have not departed pure." — **multis . . . saeculis**: for the forms of punishment expressed in physical terms, cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 735–751; for Plato's theory of the punishment of the soul by "states of probation," and the purgatorial time that "must elapse before the soul can return to the place from whence it came" (three thousand or even ten thousand years), see Plato, *Phaedrus* 248, 249; cf. also Chaucer, *The Parlement of Foules* 78–84

'But brekeris of the lawe, soth to seyn,
And lykerous folk, aftyr that they ben dede,
Schul whirle aboute the erthe alwey in peyne,
Tyl manye a world be passid, out of drede,
And that forgevyn is hir weked dede;
Than shal they come into that blysful place,
To whiche to comyn, God synden us grace!'

INDEX TO THE NOTES

[The numbers refer to sections of the text.]

ablative absolute, 13.
absens, 3.
abstracts, plural of, 8.
acuta, 10.
ad for *apud*, 1.
ades animo, 2.
adversi, 12; *adversum*, 11.
aevum, 5.
Africa, Roman province of, 1.
Africanus Maior, 1, 6.
alliteration, 5, 9.
anaphora, 4.
anceps, 4.
anfractus, 4.
angustata, 13.
angustiae regionum, 17.
annus magnus, 16.
Asia, Roman province of, 3.
atque, 9.
australis, 13.
autem, 3, 8.
avus, 8.

caelites, 1.
caeli vertices, 13.
Catadupa, 11.
Caucasus, 14.
celebritas hominum, 12.
chiasmus, 10, 17, 18.
cinguli, 13.
comites, 9.
conlacrimo, 1.
P. Cornelius Scipio, 1, 3, 4.
curru invectus, 3.

dative, ethical, 9; with *tribunus*, 1.
defixa, 9.
deinceps, 15.
de via, 2.
duty, grades of, 8.

earth, an island, 13; the position of, 7, 9; destruction of, 15.
eluviones exustionesque terrarum, 15.
eminebit foras, 21.
enim, 5.
Ennius, 2.
excitatus, 10.
extimus, 9.

facile, 8.

Ganges, 14.
Tib. Gracchus, 3.
grates, 1.

habeto, sic, 5, 18.
heptachord, 10.
Homer, 2.
hypallage, 10.

iam, 8.
immo vero, 6.

imperative, future of, 12.
incitari, 10.
in m
itag
quam . . . diu, 14.
quandoque, 16.

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origo
partic
cla
paru
pauc
Paul
perso
piet
popu
princ
prole
pronc
ive,
pro parte, 10.
punishment, after death, 21.
wax masks, 2.

in of,
music

uso, peculiar meaning of perfect, 8.

Introduction 1-5.

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Half idiotic with pleasure.

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